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AML BAI LLE NI CHERIR.

THE ANCIENT BOEOTIANS:

THEIR CHARACTER AND CULTURE, AND THEIR REPUTATION.

Bouwtia ὅς.

[PIND. *Olymp.* vi. 90.]

Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Verecūm in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.

Juv. *Sat.* x. 49.

BY

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all recognise that not the least of the attractions of St Andrews is the many-sided view of life which it presents. No 'Boeotian' of modern days can well forget, though his own interest may centre in the Links, that he is visiting the seat of the oldest Scottish university and the place where George Wishart suffered and John Knox preached.

A word of personal acknowledgment must be added. Many friends have taken an interest in this book, but special thanks are due to Dr Edwin A. Abbott, whose unfailing kindness none know so well as his former pupils at the City of London School.

It should be mentioned that the map is a reproduction of one which will be found in the first volume of Mr H. G. Dakyns' *Works of Xenophon*. It is based on the map of Greece issued by the Military Geographical Institute of Vienna. A slight alteration in the title will be noticed. For once Boeotia has been given precedence, and we read 'Boeotia and Attica' in place of the customary 'Attica and Boeotia.'

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CHAPTER I.

THE LITERARY TRADITION AND THE HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES.

1. THE LITERARY TRADITION.

Βοιωτία ὕς.—'Αναισθησία.

THE stigma resting upon the Boeotians, both in antiquity and in later times, furnishes one more illustration, if it were needed, of the responsibility incurred by those who first give a bad name to an individual or a people. If the ill-natured saying is limited to two words, one stating *who* the person is and the other *what* he is, its piquant brevity may gain it immortality as a proverb, and thus what was at first only 'the cackle of your bourg' will have become 'the murmur of the world.' The aim of this treatise will be to bring together some of the hard things which have been said of the Boeotians, and to suggest certain considerations which may be urged in modification of so harsh an estimate and in favour of a more lenient view.

It is well known that the earliest reference to the proverb *Βοιωτία ὕς* is found in the writings of a Boeotian. In his Sixth Olympian (B.C. 468: probably), Pindar, towards the close of the Ode, addresses his *χοροδιδάσκαλος*, Æneas, as follows:

ἄτρυνον νῦν ἑταίρους,
Αἰνέα, πρῶτον μὲν Ἦραν Παρθενίαν κελαδήσαι,
γνῶναί τ' ἔπειτ', ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος ἀλαθέειν
λόγοις εἰ φεύγομεν, Βοιωτίαν ὕν.

The passage requires some elucidation in detail, but the general sense is clear. Æneas, as chorus-master, is to rouse his fellows to sing the praises of the maiden Hera, and to form (or to suggest) some conclusion as to the justice of an ancient national reproach. The version in Boeckh's monumental edition runs thus: *Incita nunc sodales, Ænea, primum ut Iunonem Partheniam canant, tunc ut declarent, antiquum probrum veris verbis an effugiamus, Boeotiam suam*. It will be seen that Boeckh takes γνῶναι in a causative sense. In support of this he quotes *Olymp.* xiii. 2, and he might have added that γνῶρίσαι and γνῶριμον ποιῆσαι are found, by way of paraphrase, in the Scholia. His view of the exact meaning and connexion of the words ἀλαθέσιν λόγοις is not clear from the literal rendering which he gives; but it is not in itself likely that Pindar, loyal as he is to his country, intends to endorse so coarsely insolent a proverb. We seem, therefore, driven to disagree with the accomplished English translator who renders: "to know for sure whether we are escaped from the ancient reproach that spake truly of Boeotian swine." Rather, the correct interpretation is that given by Erasmus (*Adagg.*, I. x. 6): *Admonet choro-didascalum, ita curet canendum hymnum, ut vetus illud probrum veris rationibus liceat effugere, quod in amicos dici consueverit, Βοιωτία ὕς*. Here by *veris rationibus* we are apparently to understand 'on true grounds or calculations,' 'really and truly': so that ἀλαθέσιν λόγοις is equivalent to ταῖς ἀληθείαις, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τῷ ὄντι¹. On this view, the translation of the whole passage will be, to quote Mr Myers with a few slight alterations: "Now rouse thy fellows, Ainēas, first to proclaim the name of maiden Hera, and next to know (or, to make known) whether in very truth we escape that ancient reproach, *Boeotian swine*." Pindar is clearly anxious that no admission shall be made which is not well considered and sincere.

To pass from the interpretation of the passage to the substance of the proverb. We have seen that, according to the view of

¹ For the plural ταῖς ἀληθείαις, see Rutherford's *Babrius*, lxxv. 19. Some light is thrown on the passage under discussion by the line ἦν δρε σῶας τὸ Βοιώτιον ἔθνος ἐνεπον (quoted by Schol., on *Olymp.* vi., from one of Pindar's Dithyrambs: cp. Strabo vii. 7, 1), which is usually, and no doubt rightly, translated: *erat quom sues Boeoticam gentem appellarent*.

some, Pindar endorses the proverb. Others would perhaps urge that the proverb itself is meant half in jest, and is not so offensive as it appears. No doubt there is truth in Professor Gildersleeve's somewhat quaint reminder that "the moral character of the swine was not exactly the same among the Greeks as it is among us and the Semites¹." But everywhere and always we may assume that it has been reckoned a 'reproach' for a human being to be termed a 'swine.' At all events, a ten years' acquaintance with the inhabitants of the Island of Anglesey has not convinced the writer that they really relish the delicate humour of the exactly parallel expression *Moch Môn*, or that they would not turn a ready ear to an ingenious Scholiast of modern days who should imitate his Greek forerunner by referring us to some ancient Welsh tribe analogous to those primitive Boeotian *Hyantes* ("Ταυρες) whose name, originally innocent enough, was thought to have suggested the ribald jest of later times². For, however it originated, the phrase *Βουωρία* *ὅς* must, as the Pindaric Scholiast remarks, have implied *ὑγροικία* *καὶ ἀναγωγία*, by which latter word is meant *ἀπαιδευσία*, the equivalent given for it by Suidas³. The proverb is, as we are told elsewhere, appropriately used *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναισθήτων καὶ ἀπαιδευτῶν*⁴. In fact, we may with safety say that, whatever else it indicated, it must have argued certain defects of—character and culture. We feel that this twofold weakness must be attributed by the irate Milton, in one of his prose writings, to an unknown opponent, when he impatiently exclaims, "I mean not to dispute philosophy with this pork, who never read any⁵." We are quite sure that, whatever else Milton means, he does not intend to compliment his nameless antagonist upon uniting in his single

¹ B. L. Gildersleeve, *Pindar: The Olympian and Pythian Odes*, p. 180. But *op. Circe's swine* and see (for partial confirmation only) Plato, *Rep.* ii. 372, *Laches* 196, *Leges* vii. 819 D (Grünwald, *Sprichwörter u. sprichwörtliche Redensarten bei Plato*, p. 18; Lingenberg, *Platonische Bilder u. Sprichwörter*, p. 15).

² Boeckh, *Pindari Opera*, tom. ii. pars i., p. 151. Compare, again, Strabo vii. 7, 1.

³ See E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*: s. v. *ἀναγωγή*.

⁴ *Macarii Centuria* ii. 49, in Leutsch u. Schneidewin's *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* ii. 151.

⁵ *Colasterion: a Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*.

person all the virtues of Hebraism and all the graces of Hellenism.

The point which Pindar wished to be decided was : *εἰ φεύγομεν ἀρχαίων ὄνειδος*. If the poet is referring to his countrymen at large, the answer is clearly in the negative. They did *not* escape the reproach : their vivacious Athenian neighbours saw to that. We can well imagine that the Boeotians, who were themselves given to coining proverbs, invented in revenge, unless forestalled by the Corinthians (see Thucyd. i. 70), the phrase Ἀττικὸς πάροικος to denote a troublesome neighbour¹. But then it is one thing to invent a taunt, another to give it vogue ; and here the Athenians had the advantage, for they controlled the channels of literature.

At a later date, Plutarch expressly states that it was the people of Attica who applied various opprobrious epithets to the Boeotians and called them 'pigs.' His words are : *τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους, μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσηγόρευον. οὗτοι δ' αὖ σῦς. καὶ ὁ Μένανδρος· οἱ γνάθους ἔχουσιν* (*De Esu Carnium*, orat. i. 6, p. 995)².

This passage reminds us not only that it was the Athenians particularly who gave the Boeotians their bad name, but that among the Athenians the lead in this respect was taken by the Comic Poets, to whom their rustic neighbours were a most convenient butt. Plutarch names Menander. But long before Menander, Cratinus seems to have styled the Boeotians *Συοβοιωτοί*, thus facetiously implying a connexion at once with *σῦς* and with *βοῦς*³. In Aristophanes it is from Boeotia that things good for eating come, and the Boeotian trader with his oddities of dialect makes an excellent mark for comic shafts, while the much-prized eel he brings from Lake Copais inspires one of the happiest even

¹ Leutsch u. Schneid. i. 40, i. 330, ii. 149. Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 21, 12.

² "The men of Attica were in the habit of terming us Boeotians dense and stupid and witless, mainly owing to our enormous appetites. They it was, also, who named us pigs. And Menander called us 'the men with the jaws.'"—Of course it cannot be *proved* that it was the Athenians who invented the proverb *Βοιωτὰ ὄντ*, which even in Pindar's time was an *ἀρχαίων ὄνειδος*. But while it is in the highest degree probable that it had an Attic origin, it is absolutely certain that the feeling which it represents owed its widespread expression to Attic literature.

³ Meineke, *Poet. Graec. Fragm.* 71 (Didot). Kock, *Comic. Attic. Fragm.* i. 103.

of Aristophanic parodies¹. The excesses in the matter of eating and drinking attributed to the Boeotians by the Comic Poets generally may be estimated from Athenaeus (x. 417, 418), who brings together a number of passages the burden of which is that they were *very valiant trenchermen* (φαγεῖν μέγ' ἀνδρικοί), and something more than that².

Proceeding to Demosthenes, another Athenian who is known to have spoken badly of the Boeotians (especially the Thebans), we shall find that his disparaging references to Theban ἀναισθησία and ἀναλγησία are not so numerous as they are sometimes supposed to be. Indeed the noun ἀναισθησία appears not to be used at all by Demosthenes in connexion with the Thebans, while the adjective ἀναισθητος is thus used twice only. In the *De Pace* the orator makes use of the expression without perhaps actually adopting it himself (εἰ καὶ πάνν φησί τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, 61), and in the *De Corona* he uses it in a fit of indignation

¹ *Ach.*, vv. 860 et seqq. Cp. *Pax*, vv. 1003—1005.—For the Boeotian dialect, see R. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte (auf Grundlage von Ahrens' Werk 'De Graecae linguae dialectis')*, vol. i. pp. 203—286. As Meister points out (p. 213), Aristophanes, like other comic poets, has not taken the trouble to give an altogether accurate reproduction of the brogue he ridicules. See also *Die boeotischen Inschriften* by R. Meister in H. Collitz, *Sammlung d. gr. Dialekt-Inschriften* (Heft iii. 1884, with Nachträge in the same year).

² *Evidence of the Comic Poets*. Many of the considerations advanced by Wilhelm Vischer (*Kl. Schr.* i. 459—485, *Ueber die Benutzung der alten Komödie als geschichtlicher Quelle*) are applicable not only to the Old Comedy but to Comedy in general. In the present case, Athenaeus himself admits that the charge was a wholesale one (καὶ ἔθνη δὲ ὅλα εἰς πολυφαγίαν ἐκωμωδεῖτο, ὡς τὸ Βουιτόν, x. 417). It would hardly be fair to judge of a City Feast solely from the pages of *Punch*, and in the same way the lines of the Greek Comic Poets, which ascribe gluttony to the Boeotians, one and all, must be taken with all due reserve. They indicate a tendency, a weakness; one cannot safely say more. The impression which the Boeotians, on this side of their character, are represented as making on the Athenians may be compared with that which the voracious Saxons made on the Normans, whose self-indulgence took a more refined form. "The polite luxury of the Norman presented a striking contrast to the coarse voracity and drunkenness of his Saxon and Danish neighbours. He loved to display his magnificence, not in huge piles of food and hogsheads of strong drink, but in large and stately edifices, rich armour and gallant horses, choice falcons, well-ordered tournaments, banquets delicate rather than abundant, and wines remarkable rather for their exquisite flavour than for their intoxicating power." (Macaulay, *History of England*, i. p. 11.)

which procures for the Thessalians even a worse designation (*οἱ μὲν κατὰπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγούντο*, 240)¹. In the *Second Philippic σκαιότης τρόπων* (a turn for blundering, a native *gaucherie*) is attributed to the Thebans and to those of the Peloponnesians whom Demosthenes at the time in question thought equally misguided; and in the *De Corona* (237) we have the words *τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων*, but quoted apparently from Æschines². So that, when we come to look into the matter, we see that Demosthenes' own opinion as to Theban *ἀναισθησία* is not so emphatically expressed as it has often been thought to be; and even where a distinctly unfavourable judgment is delivered, we must make all allowance for rhetorical exaggeration and political prejudice, as for instance when the Athenians are told in the *Leptines* (490) that the Thebans take greater pride in barbarity and villainy than they take in kindness and the desire to do right. An Orator, no less than a Comic Poet, is prone to consider the tastes of his audience as well as the demands of truth. Demosthenes himself, in the earliest of his extant political speeches, allows that it was almost impossible to say anything good about the Thebans owing to the hatred which the Athenians entertained towards them. "Your hatred for them is such that you will not care to hear anything in their favour, true though it may be." "But," he there adds, "when great interests are at stake, no consideration that is of moment should on any account be omitted in our deliberations³." Isocrates, too,

¹ "The despicable Thessalians and dull-witted Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, benefactor, saviour."

² "To be rid of the heartlessness and insolence of the Thebans." The meaning of *ἀναισθητος* and *ἀνάλγητος* is discussed later. *βαρύτης* seems to combine the notions of oppressiveness and offensiveness.

³ *Symptories* (354 B.C.), p. 187: *εἰ τοίνυν τις οἴεται Θηβαίους ἔσεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνου (sc. βασιλέως), ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἡδέως ἀγαθὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσατε. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων σκοποῦντας μηδένα συμφέροντα λογισμὸν παραλιπεῖν διὰ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οἶμαι τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν Θηβαίους τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνου ποτ' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥστε πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ ἔχοιεν δοῦναι, πρᾶσθαι γενέσθαι τιν' αὐτοῖς καιρὸν δι' οὗ τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀμαρτίας.* [The last sentence is quoted here in anticipation of c. ii. § 3.]

implies that it was their *enmity* which led the Athenians to impute crass ignorance to the Thebans¹.

However, the ascription of *ἀναισθησία* to the Thebans became a sort of tradition among the Greek writers: for example, in an oration (lxiv. 332) attributed to Dion Chrysostomus (who, good rhetorician though he is, belongs to a class of men who are apt to be echoes rather than living voices) we find τὴν Θηβαίων ἀναισθησίαν spoken of as though it were the recognised thing. But what exactly was this *ἀναισθησία*? Daniel Heinsius (*Orationes*, p. 610; Lugd. Bat., 1627 A.D.) thinks that in the Emperor Claudius we have its human embodiment, and in *stupiditas* its Latin verbal equivalent. But he adds that there are the following varieties of it—*socordia*, *stultitia*, *oblivio*, *inconsiderantia*, *rerum ac sermonis neglegentia*; and on any estimate of his character, it will be allowed that Claudius was chargeable with some at least of these defects.

For a more precise definition, however, we must go back to the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In that work the word *ἀναισθησία* is used to denote a defect which the author regards as practically non-existent because non-human, viz. deficient sensibility to pleasures (iii. 11, 7). The *ὑπερβολή* with regard to pleasures is *ἀκολασία*, the *μεσότης* is *σωφροσύνη*, and the *ἑλλειψις* is (if a word must be found) *ἀναισθησία* (ii. 7, 3 *ἐλλείποντες δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ πᾶν γίνονται· διόπερ οὐδ' ὀνόματος τετυχήκασιν οὐδ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἔστωσαν δὲ ἀναισθητοί*. Cp. ii. 2, 7; ii. 8, 6). Thus even the *σώφρων* will be *ἀκόλαστος* when compared with the *ἀναισθητος*, though on the other hand he will be *ἀναισθητος* when compared with the *ἀκόλαστος* (ii. 8, 2). *ἀναλγησία* also denotes insensibility, but insensibility to *ἄλγος* (implied in the term) rather than to *ἡδονή*. Thus in i. 10, 12 we are told that 'nobility of character is brilliantly displayed when a man bears cheerfully many heavy blows of fortune, not through insensibility (*ἀναλγησίαν*), but because he is generous-hearted and magnanimous.' Similarly in vi. 7, 7 we hear that 'a man would rightly be described as mad or insensible (*ἀνάλγητος*) if he feared nothing

¹ Isocrates, *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως* 248, καὶ Θηβαίους μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχθροῖς τὴν ἀμαθίαν ὀνειδίζουσιν. As the Welsh proverb on the title-page affirms, "there is many a fault where love is not."

at all, neither earthquake nor tempestuous sea, as they say of the Celts¹.

But, in general, 'stupid' and 'unfeeling' will be adequate equivalents for ἀναίσθητος and ἀνάλγητος respectively. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* iii. 5, 12 ignorance of a certain obvious fact is regarded as the mark of an 'entirely stupid person' (κομιδῇ ἀναισθήτου). In the *Characters* of Theophrastus, ἀναισθησία is defined as 'mental slowness in speech and action' (Jebb's *Theophrastus*, p. 115), and is illustrated by various examples of an absent or a vacant mind. Near akin to the ἀναίσθητος is the ἀγροίκος or boor, in which word urban contempt for rural life and manners comes out with special prominence. ἀγροικία is defined by Theophrastus as 'ignorance offending against propriety'.² This boorishness, or clownishness, may be mitigated by culture; and this is also the case with ἀναισθησία, to judge from the reference made in [Demosth.] *Epist.* iii. 1477 to culture (παιδεία) as an agency which can render even τοὺς ἀναισθητοὺς tolerable.

Largely through Athenian influence, the taunts conveyed in Βιωτία ὕς and in ἀναισθησία passed into a literary commonplace. They had the Attic stamp and seal upon them, and were thereby franked to all the world. The Latin writers, especially, join in the chorus of dispraise. The best-known passage in point is the 'Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum' of Horace (*Ep.* ii. i. 244); and with this may be compared the allusion in Cicero (*de Fato*, iv. 7) to the belief that the brightness of the Athenians and the heaviness of the Thebans were, in some degree, due to the

¹ *Nicomachean Ethics* (Ingram Bywater's Text), i. 10, 12: διαλάμπει τὸ καλόν, ἐπειδὴν φέρη τις εὐκόλως πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀτυχίας, μὴ δι' ἀνάλγησιαν, ἀλλὰ γεννάδας ὦν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος. iii. 7, 7: εἴη δ' ἂν τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος, εἰ μὴτὲν φοβοῖτο, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτοῦς.—The meaning of ἀναισθησία and ἀνάλγησια might be investigated at greater length with interesting results. Cp. Stewart's *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics*, ii. 8, 2, 3, and the passage adduced by Ramsauer. The Boeotians have seemed to their exacting critics to lack the αἰσθητικὴ μεσότης, and to suffer alike from ἀναισθησία and hyperaesthesia, if we may borrow a term from medical and physiological writers. In the same way they have been charged at once with ὀμότης and with ἀνάλγησια, which may be considered the extremes, on either side, of πραότης. (Plutarch, *Opera Moralia*, Wytttenbach's edition, ii. 445 a).

² Jebb, *Theophrastus*, pp. 117 and 220: cp. J. H. H. Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, iii. 74.

difference in the air they breathed. Nepos observes more than once (*Alcib.* 11, *Epam.* 5) that the Boeotians were more remarkable for physical strength than for mental agility, and Tertullian (*de Anima*, 20) refers to the traditional dullness and stupidity of the natives of Thebes¹.

To come to still later times. There are many passages in which Dante alludes to Thebes. But it is of legendary Thebes ('la città di Baco') that Dante is usually thinking. However, in *Inf.* xxxiii. 89 it is quite likely, as Mr A. J. Butler suggests, that in addressing Pisa as 'New Thebes' or 'Modern Thebes' (*Novella Tebe*) the poet intended to imply that Pisa was to Florence as Thebes to Athens. Our own Dryden, in a 'Prologue to the University of Oxford' (Sir Walter Scott's *Dryden*, vol. x., p. 384), makes the distinction in an unequivocal manner, and much to the disadvantage of his own University of Cambridge.

If his ambition may those hopes pursue,
Who, with religion, loves your arts and you,
Oxford to him a dearer name shall be
Than his own mother-university.
Thebes did his green, unknowing, youth engage;
He chooses Athens in his riper age.

And not in Dryden only but in English literature generally the Boeotians and their country have fared badly. Marston (1598 A.D.) speaks of 'dull-sprighted fat Boeotian boors'; Daniel (1649 A.D.), of 'full-paunched Boeotians'; Cudworth (1678 A.D.), of the effect of 'the dull Boeotic air'; Byron (1809 A.D.), of 'Jeffrey's heart, or Lambe's Boeotian head'; and Carlyle (1831 A.D.), of 'Boeotian simplicity'².

¹ Cicero, *de Fato*, iv. 7: Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes. Nepos, *Alcib.* xi. 3: Omnes enim Boeoti magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini inserviunt. Id. *Epam.* v. 2: Namque illi genti plus inest virium quam ingenii. Tertullian, *de Anima* xx: Thebis hebetes et brutos nasci relatum est.

² The following references are given by Dr Murray (*New English Dictionary*) under *Boeotia* etc.: Marston, *Pigmal.* ii. 142. G. Daniel, *Trinarch.*, *Hen.* V. lix. Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* 741. Byron, *Bards and Rev.* 82. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, iii. 1.

2. THE HISTORICAL AUTHORITIES.

ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι Βοιωτῶν οἷς ὑπῆρχε δεῖπνα τοῦ μηνὸς πλείω τῶν εἰς τὸν
μῆνα διατεταγμένων ἡμερῶν. POLYB. xx. 6, 6.

It will now be convenient to inquire what direct historical evidence there is, one way or the other, with regard to the character and culture of the Boeotians. The following are, it will probably be found, the three principal judgments pronounced upon the Boeotians by Greek historians or geographers. They will be here given in what seems the ascending order of their importance.

(1) The most detailed account is the least weighty. It is that contained in the *Descriptio Graeciae* attributed to Dicaearchus (C. Müller, *Geogr. Graec. Min.* i. pp. 97—110, and *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. pp. 254—264). The writer goes so far as to assign (on the authority of the Boeotians themselves, so he says) special defects to particular towns, e.g. envy (*φθόνος*) to Tanagra, contentiousness (*φιλονεικία*) to Thespieae, insolence (*ὑβρις*) to Thebes, meddlesomeness (*περιεργία*) to Coroneia, pretentiousness (*ἀλαζονεία*) to Plataea, stupidity (*ἀναισθησία*) to Haliartus. No wonder that he sums up with the line of Pherecrates: 'An thou art wise, shun thou Boeotia' (*ἄνπερ φρονῆς εὖ, φεύγε τὴν Βοιωτίαν*). The gossip of a traveller, who thus attributes individual characteristics to a number of towns only a few miles apart from each other, does not deserve very serious attention. Although the fragments of the *Descriptio* are commonly ascribed to Dicaearchus Messenius, there is an alternative heading 'Ἀθηναίου, and C. Müller pertinently remarks that an *Athenian* may well have been the author of these gibes¹.

¹ *Dicaearchus*. This treatment of 'Dicaearchus' may seem unduly severe and summary. It must be admitted that he says good things, as well as bad, of the Boeotians; and he may be wanting in judgment rather than in fairness. But in any case, he is now generally acknowledged to be of later date than Dicaearchus Messenius. It will be convenient, therefore, to refer to him as 'the Pseudo-Dicaearchus,' and to hazard the conjecture that he wrote about 160 B.C. For the various geographical writings, of uncertain ascription and title, attributed to Dicaearchus, see C. Wachsmuth, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1860, p. 110; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, vol. i. p. 44; K. Lehrs, *Rheinisches Museum*, New Series, vol. ii. (1843), p. 354.

(2) The standing of Polybius is very different from that of the writer just quoted. But because his authority is justly so great and has been so confidently invoked against the Boeotians, it is all the more necessary to remember that in one point he resembles the Pseudo-Dicaearchus: they are both comparatively late writers, and both are dealing with a comparatively late period in Boeotian history. Polybius himself makes this clear in the words with which he introduces his striking picture of Boeotian degeneracy (xx. 4—7). 'The Boeotians had for a long time been in a disordered state which presented a great contrast to the prosperity and reputation of their commonwealth in the past.' He goes on to say that, after winning great glory and power at the time of the battle of Leuctra, they had subsequently declined year after year, and not merely declined but had positively been transformed, and had done their best to efface their former renown. Being defeated in battle by the Ætolians (B.C. 245), they were so demoralised that thenceforward they never had the heart to contend for any kind of distinction, nor did they share in any Hellenic undertaking or contest, but 'gave themselves up to feasting and carousing, and lost not only all physical but all mental and moral stamina.' There were among them but few in whom might still be found 'sparks of their ancestral glory.' For nearly five and twenty years the administration of justice was allowed to sleep, the Macedonian party being in the ascendant (B.C. 210 circ.). The poor were corrupted by ambitious politicians who wished to obtain their votes. And (this by way of climax) it became customary for men of property to bequeath money for the maintenance of feasts and drinking-parties, to be enjoyed by the testator's friends in common: 'so that there were many Boeotians who had at their call more dinners in a month than there are days in the month'¹.

(3) The last of the three passages, being brief and important, may be quoted textually. It is a fragment of Ephorus preserved by

¹ Βοιωτοὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἤδη χρόνων καχεκτοῦντες ἦσαν, καὶ μεγάλην εἶχον διαφορὰν πρὸς τὴν γεγενημένην εὐεχίαν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῶν τῆς πολιτείας. Polybius xx. 4, 1.—ἀλλ' ὀρμήσαντες πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ μέθας, οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἐξελύθησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. xx. 4, 7.—βραχέος δὲ αἰθύγματος ἐγκαταλειπομένου τῆς προγονικῆς δόξης, ἦσαν τινες οἱ δυσαρστοῦντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ καταστάσει καὶ τῷ πάντα πείθεσθαι Μακεδόσι. xx. 5, 4.—ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι κ.τ.λ. xx. 6, 6.

Strabo (ix. 401), who says: τὴν μὲν οὖν χώραν ἐπαινεῖ ("Εφορος) διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ φησι πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν εὐφυῶς ἔχειν, ἀγωγῇ δὲ καὶ παιδείᾳ μὴ χρησαμένους ἐπιμελεῖ τοὺς αἰεὶ προισταμένους αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ τί ποτε κατάρθωσαν, ἐπὶ μικρὸν τὸν χρόνον συμμεῖναι· καθάπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔδειξε· τελευτήσαντος γὰρ ἐκείνου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλεῖν εὐθύς τοὺς Θηβαίους γευσασμένους αὐτῆς μόνον· αἴτιον δὲ εἶναι τὸ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὀλυγωρῆσαι, μόνης δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρετῆς¹. Strabo adds, on his own account, that the qualities thus neglected are of especial consequence in dealing with Greeks, who are not, like the barbarians, 'moved more by force than speech'; and since he is writing under the Empire, it is natural for him to introduce a reference to the Romans, 'who in ancient times, when waging war against ruder tribes, stood in no need of such accomplishments; but since they commenced to deal with more civilised tribes and races, they have applied themselves to this branch of training also, and become masters of the world.'

Upon reviewing as a whole the testimony adduced in the two sections of this chapter, we shall find that, outside the historians and geographers, there is little that can be ranked as conclusive

¹ "The country (Boeotia) is extolled by Ephorus on these grounds (viz. certain geographical advantages). He says that it was well fitted by nature for a position of ascendancy, but through want of training and systematic culture its successive leaders, notwithstanding some occasional successes, held their ground but for a short period. This was shown in the case of Epaminondas. Upon his death the Thebans immediately lost their premier position after one brief taste of it, the reason being that they contemned humane letters and social converse, and cultivated military prowess only." With the use of λόγων here, cp. Plut., *de genio Socr.* i., ἀνεγείρειν τὸ κατὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀρχαῖον εἰς μισολογίαν ὄνειδος, which Erasmus (*Adagg.*, Leyden Edition, p. 369) translates *refricare vetus illud adversus Boeotos de literarum odio probum*. [But cp. also Plato, *Sympos.*, 182 B.] ἐπιμελεῖ is read by Madvig for ἐπεὶ μηδέ. "Pro ἐπεὶ μηδέ, quæ Meinekio iure notavit, scribendum ἐπιμελεῖ. (Casaub. ἐπιτηδείῃ)." *Adversaria Critica*, i. 554. So Cobet, *Miscell. Crit.*, p. 180: "Meineke *Vind. Strab.* pag. 135 legebat: μὴ χρησαμένους ἐπι(μελεῖ) μηδέ τοὺς αἰεὶ προισταμένους κτέ. Sed pessime retinuit μηδέ, quia de solis principibus hæc Ephorus dicebat. Latebat in μηδέ id ipsum—μελεῖ a Meinekio de suo additum: μὴ χρησαμένους ἐπιμελεῖ τοὺς αἰεὶ προισταμένους αὐτῆς. Si hæc de omnibus Thebanis dixisset, non χρησαμένους, sed χρωμένους dictum oportuit." The notes of the Danish and the Dutch critic are given here in full, but the passage, even as emended and explained, does not seem to be free from ambiguity. It will be found, together with its context, in H. F. Tozer's *Selections from Strabo*, pp. 232, 3.

evidence or regarded as free from Attic bias. And how strong that Attic bias must have been, we realise at once when we consider the facts of Attico-Boeotian history. Melaenae, Plataea, Oropus—these tell the same tale in prehistoric, and in early and late historical times¹. It is a tale of endless wrangling and bitterest jealousy. The wrangling is illustrated by the names just mentioned; the bitter jealousy by many things, but most of all perhaps by the attitude of Thebes towards Athens after *Ægospotami*, and of Athens towards Thebes after *Leuctra* (Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 2, 19; vi. 4, 20).

In the case of the historians and geographers we are bound to bear in mind the comparatively late date at which, and of which, the Pseudo-Dicaearchus and Polybius write. And although the good faith of Polybius is beyond all question, yet we cannot help feeling that it is not easy to take quite seriously all the counts in his indictment. Thirlwall speaks, in this connexion, of the 'grave evidence' of Polybius; but it looks, in part, like a case of too much gravity and too little humour². Anyhow, the censure must not, without further testimony, be extended beyond the period to which the historian himself applies it. We do not form our estimate of the Athenians in their great days from the account given of them, in their degeneracy, by the author of the *Acts of the Apostles*, at a time when the noble pursuit after knowledge had become a mere idle curiosity, when the old habit of unfettered investigation still survived but not the old spirit which once had animated it, when inquiry had been exchanged for inquisitiveness.

The judgment of Ephorus deserves careful consideration if only because of its clear-sighted reference to a principal source of Boeotian weakness. The fragment further raises regrets that the whole of which it is a part has been lost, and makes us, still further, think of the general ill-fortune of Boeotia in the matter of its historians. The period of Epaminondas might have evoked, in a degree only second to the Persian and the Peloponnesian

¹ For Melaenae, see *Die Deme von Attika von W. M. Leake: aus dem Englischen übersetzt von A. Westermann*, 1840, pp. 132 and 230. [English original in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. i. pt. 2, London, 1829, pp. 114—283.]

² Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, i. 13.

Wars, the powers of a Herodotus or a Thucydides; but the only contemporary records extant are the *Hellenica* and the [*Agesilaus*] of Xenophon, and Xenophon, if he is anti-Athenian, is by ill chance anti-Boeotian also. Ephorus, although not exactly a contemporary, was, in this part of his work, describing events which were still fresh in the minds of men, and the loss of his *History* is the more to be deplored that he entertained no prejudice against the Boeotians. He was not a historian of the first rank, but where (as in treating of Epaminondas) he was interested himself he could interest others to what was sometimes an inconvenient extent. So we may judge from a characteristic anecdote of Plutarch's. "A talkative fellow contrariwise, if there be a matter proposed whereby he may hear and learn somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it; he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keep silence a little while, to gain thereby some hire and reward; but casting and rolling his thought round about he never rests until he light upon some old ragged rapsodies and overworn discourses, which he hath patched and racked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have perused two or three books of *Ephorus*; whereby he took himself to be so great a Clerk, and so well read, that he wearied every mans eares who heard him talk; there was no assembly or feast unto which he came, but he would force the company to arise and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battel of *Leuctres*, and the occurrents that ensued thereupon, insomuch as he got himself a by-name, and every man called him *Epaminondas*." (Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, xxii. Philemon Holland's Translation)¹.

In the following chapters an endeavour will be made to ascertain, as far as it can now be done, the truth with regard to Boeotian character and culture, and Boeotian reputation.

¹ "The Philosophy, commonly called the Morals, written by the Learned Philosopher, Plutarch of Chaeronea. Translated out of Greek into English, and conferred with the Latine Translations and the French. By Philemon Holland, Doctor of Physick." Edition of 1657.

CHAPTER II. ✓

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF BOEOTIA.

IT is in the Political History of Boeotia, not including the Age of Epaminondas (which must be reserved for separate treatment) that there would seem to be most room for adverse criticism of the national character. And yet, even here, no abusive condemnation of a whole people will appear admissible, if only we take due account of the public morality of the time, and thus apply historical rather than dogmatic methods of criticism. To test the point, let us very rapidly consider (1) the internal relations of Boeotia, (2) its relations to Attica, (3) its relations to Persia.

1. INTERNAL RELATIONS.

καὶ εἰς Βοιωτοῦς, ὅτι ὅμοιοι τοῖς πρίνοις· τοὺς τε γὰρ πρίνους ὑφ' αὐτῶν κατὰ-
κόπτεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους μαχομένους.

Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 4, 3.

Even in Greece, that ancient home of particularism, the internal dissensions of Boeotia were felt to be notable. The feeling found expression in a simile which Aristotle attributes to Pericles. The Boeotians, said Pericles, resembled holm-oaks, which *fell one another*.^{*} In this case, as in many others, the fact illustrated is much clearer than the illustration employed. For whatever doubt there may be as to the exact manner in which holm-oaks deal mutual destruction, it is only too certain that the Boeotians were constantly waging an almost internecine war with one

another, dispeopling towns and laying waste the fertile country round them¹.

The theory and the practice of Boeotia were in striking opposition. In theory there had existed from very early times a Boeotian League, composed of a number of confederate towns, usually given as fourteen, but sometimes maintained by high authorities to have been only seven². It is likely that the number varied at different times, and that both these statements are true, the latter applying best to the fifth century B.C., and the former to the end of the fourth century. At the earlier date, the probable names of the towns, if given in the order in which they occur on the map from north to south, would be: Orchomenus, Copae, Coroneia, Haliartus, Thebes, Thespieae, Tanagra; at the later date, Orchomenus, Chaeroneia, Hyettus, Copae, Anthedon, Acraephium, Lebadeia; Coroneia, Haliartus, Thebes, Thespieae, Tanagra, Thisbe, Plataea. The full list last given receives general confirmation from existing inscriptions³.

¹ The most probable meaning of ὑφ' αὐτῶν κατακόπτεσθαι would seem to be 'fell one another,' or more emphatically, 'are their own headsmen or executioners,' the reference being to tree-tops dashed together by the violence of the storm. Cp. Thucyd. ii. 77: ἥδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὅλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν. E. M. Cope (in his edition of the *Rhetoric*) gives, as an alternative explanation, "are cut down by their own wood," and J. E. C. Welldon (in his Translation) renders: "or about the Boeotians, that they are like their own holm-oaks, for, as these are cut to pieces by axes made of their own wood, so are the Boeotians cut to pieces by civil war." In Mr Welldon's version two difficulties suggest themselves: (1) Is it a feasible thing 'to cut holm-oaks to pieces by axes made of their own wood,' unless the reference is simply to the *handles* of the axes? Theophrastus, it may be pointed out, does not mention axe-manufacture in any form as one of the purposes to which holm-oaks were applied (*Hist. Plant.* v. 7, 6). There would seem to be more likelihood in Mr Cope's explanation, 'to split by wedges and mallets made of their own wood.' (2) Are we warranted in assuming that holm-oaks were a special feature of the Boeotian landscape? The writer thinks he has somewhere seen attention called to the fact that Boeotia is, or was, remarkable for the *absence* of holm-oaks.

² Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes*, viii. 431—441: *Abrechnung eines boiotischen Hipparchen*.

³ Maurice Holleaux, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Janvier-Février 1889, pp. 1—23, and Mars 1889, pp. 225—229 [*Dédicaces Nouvelles de la Confédération Béotienne*]. In a paper, which will presently be referred to more particularly, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Dr B. V. Head gives (p. 193) a slightly different list based on the evidence of the coins of Boeotia.—*Site of Hyettus*. To the N. of Copae: see Map in Müller's *Orchomenus*.—*Orthography of Acraephium*. "Akrai-

A main reason of dissatisfaction and disunion was the attitude of Thebes, which desired a predominant position in the League, and at times enforced her claims harshly and violently. One active rival and opponent was Orchomenus, which occupied one of the two natural basins of Boeotia while Thebes occupied the other. Theocritus says no more than is true in his lines 'Orchomenus, the abode of the Minyae, was hated of old by Thebes' (*Id.* xvi. 105, 6). Thebes could not forget the tradition that at one time Orchomenus had exacted tribute from her; nor could Orchomenus forget her own legendary pre-eminence¹. In the earlier historical times, however, Thebes and Orchomenus, being both under oligarchical government, acted fairly well together. But the feud was smouldering, not extinguished. At the battle of Coroneia (394 B.C.) the Orchomenians were the only Boeotians fighting on the side of Agesilaus against the united forces of the Athenians, Thebans, and others; and after Leuctra (371 B.C.) the Thebans would have destroyed Orchomenus but for the intervention of Epaminondas². In his absence a little later (about 364 B.C.), they seized a convenient pretext and razed the city to the ground, slaying its male population and selling its women and children into slavery³.

phia | 'Ακραΐφια, auch 'Ακραΐφιον, 'Ακραΐφνιον und τὰ 'Ακραΐφνια geschrieben." G. Hirschfeld, in the new *Pauly*. Holleaux gives also a form *Acraephiae*.

¹ Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.*, xv. 79: ἐκ παλαιῶν γὰρ χρόνων οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τοὺτους ἀλλοτρίως διέκειντο, δασμοφοροῦντες μὲν τοῖς Μινύαις ἐν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς χρόνοις, ὕστερον δ' ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐλευθερωθέντες.—In the early historical period Orchomenus is the only confederate town which does not place the Boeotian buckler (the emblem of the League) on the obverse of its coins.—The latest historical event affecting the ancient rivals Thebes and Orchomenus, or the modern towns which bear their name, is the earthquake which has this year (1894) overwhelmed them both.

² *Orchomenians at Coroneia*. Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 3, 15—18; [Xen.] *Ages.* ii. 9. In the enumeration of Boeotian forces given in *Hellen.* iv. 2, 17 the words ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν are used twice in close succession, first with regard to the heavy infantry, and then with regard to the cavalry. Breitenbach, in his edition of the *Hellenica*, is offended by what seems to him to be aimless tautology. "Haec verba unis inclusi: ex antecedentibus inepte repetita ferri non possunt." But surely the repetition is due to no scribe, but to the historian himself, who wishes to direct special attention to the absence of the Orchomenians.

³ *Destruction of Orchomenus*. In W. Warde Fowler's excellent book *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, p. 293, it is stated in error that "Orchomenus, the ancient rival of Thebes, was utterly destroyed by Epaminondas himself." Ad. Holm (*Gr. Gesch.* iii. 138 and 142) does not go as far as that, but even he seems

Later still, Orchomenus was, after restoration, placed by Philip at the mercy of the Thebans, who destroyed it once more; and after Chaeroneia (338 B.C.) it was rebuilt, together with the two towns about to be mentioned, by his directions. So clearly did it present itself to his eyes as a prime antagonist of Thebes.

In the south of Boeotia, both Plataea and Thespieae were often in collision with the Thebans. The case of the Plataeans is conspicuous. At an early date they seceded from the League and entered into that close and long-enduring connexion with Athens which at a later time earned them the title of *Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτοί*¹. At the siege of Syracuse they were the only Boeotians fighting on the Athenian side². The Athenians, in return for their fidelity, protected them, as far as it was possible to protect dwellers beyond Mount Cithaeron, against the Thebans and the Spartans, and

to hold Epaminondas responsible. As Epaminondas is thus made to share in the misdeeds of the Thebans, it may be well to give the evidence of Diodorus and Pausanias. They are late writers, but they may be drawing on earlier sources, and in any case they furnish the only means of determining, apart from conjecture, the action of Epaminondas. In his account of the first design to destroy the city, Diodorus (xv. 57) says: *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θηβαῖοι μεγάλην δυνάμει στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' Ὀρχομενόν, ἐπεβόλοντο μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἐπαμεινώνδου δὲ συμβουλευσάντος ὅτι τὰ διὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας κατεργασθέντα τῇ φιланθρωπῳῳ διαφυλάττειν τοὺς τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ὀρεγομένους, μετέγνωσαν.* In Diodorus' narrative of the actual destruction of Orchomenus (c. 79 of the same Book) there is no mention of Epaminondas: the inference, therefore, is that he had no share in it. Pausanias expressly states that he was absent, and that he declared afterwards that, had he been at hand, the step would not have been taken. (Pausan. *Descr. Gr.* ix. 15, 3: *ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ἀπὴν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας κ.τ.λ.*) The attitude of some of the modern historians towards Epaminondas on this point may be traced ultimately to the influence of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's vigorously written article in *Hermes* viii, in the course of which he says: "Diesem grossen und praktischen Ziele hat Epameinondas nachgestrebt, diesem sind Plataiai Thespieai Orchomenus zum Opfer gefallen, gewiss mit Epameinondas' Wissen und Willen, dem die sentimentale Geschichtsschreibung einen schlechten Dienst erweist, wenn sie ihm, voll Abscheu gegen den Bruderkrieg, den Antheil an Massnahmen entreissen will, in welchen sich seine staatsmännische Logik am deutlichsten vor Augen stellt." The words italicised involve a large assumption, especially when we remember the limitations of Epaminondas' power at Thebes. But the general question of the policy of Epaminondas in Boeotia must be dealt with later.

¹ *Ἀθηναῖοι Βοιωτοί*. Pseudo-Dicaearch. (*Geogr. Gr. Min.*, p. 102). He also applies the term to the men of Oropus (*ib.* p. 101).—Cp. Herod. vi. 108.

² Thucyd. vii. 57. *Πλαταιῆς δὲ καταντικρὺ Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς (ἐμάχοντο) μόνοι εἰκότως κατ' ἐχθρος.*

provided them with a place of refuge when rendered homeless¹. The tie between Athens and Thespieae was not so exceptionally close, though the Thespians were, on at least one occasion, suspected of *Atticism*, and suffered at the hands of the Thebans for this reason, or perhaps it should rather be said upon this pretext (423 B.C.). In 372 B.C. the Thebans razed the walls of Thespieae for the second time, and either then or more probably soon after the battle of Leuctra in the following year, they seem to have driven its inhabitants out of Boeotia². Plataea and Thespieae have this great distinction in common: alone of the Boeotian towns they refused to give earth and water to the heralds of Xerxes³. The gallantry displayed by the Plataeans on this and other occasions should not, however, prevent us from endeavouring to enter into the point of view of the Thebans, who claimed to be the founders of Plataea, as well as of the Boeotian towns generally, and would be, in their own opinion, bound as the chief power in the League to take action against all seceding members⁴.

The varying position of the several Boeotian towns, and inferentially the varying cohesion of Boeotia generally, have been well shown by a detailed examination of the coins of the country. The oldest coins found (B.C. 600) are obols of Orchomenus, which are closely connected in character with those of Aegina. A little

¹ The Plataeans sought refuge at Athens in 427 B.C., and again in 373. Their appeal for protection on the latter occasion is embodied in the *Plataicus* of Isocrates: for an adumbration of the Theban case, see Jebb, *Attic Orators* (second edition), ii. 181. On the question of Plataea generally, see H. Wiegand, *Die Platäer in Athen und Platäa zur Zeit, etc.*

² Thucyd. iv. 133 (cp. iv. 89 for Boeotia generally).

³ Herod. vii. 132, viii. 66. Cp. vii. 202, 222; viii. 1, 50; ix. 28, 30.

⁴ *Claims of Thebes*. Thucyd. iii. 61, 3. *ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς* (sc. the Plataeans) *· διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον, ὅτι ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὑστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας, καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ συμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελάσαντες ἐσχόμεν, οὐκ ἤξιον οὐτοί, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάσαντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἐβλαπτον, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἀντίπασxon.* This is the Theban case in a nutshell, and we are indebted to the impartiality of Thucydides for presenting it.—Throughout this treatise particular reference will often be made to the Thebans as distinguished from the Boeotians generally, since Thebes, as the leading town of Boeotia, frequently took a line of its own and has received special censure in consequence.

later come coins of the League, bearing the federal emblem (the Boeotian Shield, or Shield of Heracles), and initials denoting a particular town within the confederacy, e.g. Thebes or Thespieae. After the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.) Tanagra presents coins which show some connexion with Chalcis. From 446 B.C. Theban coins alone are found. From 395 to 387 B.C. gold coins occur bearing the name of Thebes (ΘΕ). From 387 ('Peace of Antalcidas') to about 374 B.C. nearly all the Boeotian towns mint coins of their own—Chaeroneia, Copae, Coroneia, Haliartus, Lebadeia, Mycalessus, Erchomenus (Orchomenus), Tanagra, Thebes, Thespieae. From the Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.) to the Battle of Chaeroneia (338 B.C.) a new federal currency was in use. The coins continue to tell their story of union, or of independent action, even as late as the first and second centuries of the Roman Empire, which countenanced the shows and forms of autonomy together with much of the substance of local self-government¹.

However lamentable the internal dissensions indicated in this section may have been as a principal source of Boeotian weakness and backwardness, it is hardly wise to visit them with any censure which fails to recognise that the defect was present, in some form or other, in every part of Greece. Nor yet, however much we may admire the brave independence of Plataea, can we, if the comparison is forced upon us, regard the aggressions and oppressions of Thebes as worse than some of the deeds which stain the pages of the history of sovereign Athens. At all events, it would not be for the Athenians, on this ground, to take the initiative in abuse. The Attic Orators were fond of dilating on the insolence (*ὕβρις*) of the Thebans, but this was a quality of which no Greek state had the sole possession. And as for individuals, Epaminondas (as we shall see) stood victoriously the test most trying to a Greek—that of success.

¹ *Coins of Boeotia*. The authority for the facts here given is Dr Barclay V. Head ('On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia': *Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Third Series, vol. i., 1881, pp. 177—275).

2. RELATIONS TO ATTICA.

'Αττικός πάροικος.

Leutsch u. Schn., *Paroem. Gr.* i. 40.

πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθίσταται...
 τοσοῦτ' ἐπικινδυνότεραν ἐτέρων τὴν παροίκησιν τῶνδε ἔχομεν.

Thucyd. iv. 92.

ταῖς διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀψιμαχίαις ἀναξαινομένων ἐκάστοτε τῶν πολεμικῶν πρὸς
 ἀλλήλας διαφορῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

Plutarch, *Demosthenis Vita*, xvii.

We have seen that within the League, to a far greater extent than can be summarily indicated, disputes arose, largely because of alleged encroachments on the part of Thebes which the minor towns resented but could not successfully resist without outside aid—such aid as was lent by Athens to Plataea.

The attitude of Athens at various times towards the League suggests the thought that she was very loth to recognise Boeotian unity, except of course for purposes of abuse. To promote disunion she actively mingled not only in the quarrels of town with town, but also in the party-spirit (*στάσις*) which divided the oligarchic and democratic factions in individual towns. During the *Pentecontaety* (the 'Age of Pericles') and during the Peloponnesian War, Attica and Boeotia, or in other words Athens and Thebes, were in constant conflict, and the plains of Boeotia fully earned the designation, afterwards given them by Epaminondas, of the 'dancing-ground of the God of Battles'¹.

Athens and Thebes have just been spoken of as if they corresponded exactly to Attica and Boeotia. But this will be immediately felt to be false to facts. The proportion *Thebes : Boeotia :: Athens : Attica* does not hold. Athens held an assured position in Attica owing to the early absorption of the surrounding localities into the larger political life of the premier city². A

¹ Ἀρεως ὀρχήστραν. Plut., *Marcelli Vita*, c. xxi.

² *Unification of Boeotia*. For the view that the circumstances of Boeotia were suited to a *συνοικισμός* rather than to a federal system, see p. 123 of Freeman's 'History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy' (edited by J. B. Bury, 1893).—*συμπολιτεία* (Polyb. xxvii. 2) is an attractive word, but the system represented by it did not answer in Boeotia.

corresponding position she grudged to Thebes; and her opposition, together with the divergent origin of the races which inhabited Boeotia, was a principal cause of the Theban failure to attain it¹. On the other hand it seemed in itself distinctly reasonable that Thebes should aim at a closer union and a firmer headship. The natural features of Boeotia placed no barrier in the way of unity, while the Cadmeia no less than the Athenian Acropolis seemed the destined site of a true capital. There was parity of conditions in other respects also. The population of the two countries was much the same. At the time of the Peloponnesian War the free-born inhabitants of Attica probably numbered 135,000, of Boeotia 100,000². There was no great difference in area either; and as for the relative size of Thebes, that town is thought to have occupied in historical times as much as one-third of the whole territory of Boeotia³. Moreover, Thebes had consistently claimed a paramount position, and alleged, as we have seen, that she was the founder of the other Boeotian towns including Plataea. It is known that certain of the smaller towns were in some sort of dependence upon various members of the League. For example, Aulis, Delium, and Mycalessus were in the territory of Tanagra, Leuctra in the territory of Thespieae, and Chaeroneia was at one time in the territory of Orchomenus⁴. As far as we are able to judge, it would have been well for Boeotia and for Greece generally if this process of consolidation had gone further still. And although we can appreciate the spirit of sturdy independence which clung passionately, but as we may think mistakenly, to its inherited autonomy, it is difficult to see what right Athens or Sparta (with their constitutions) had to thwart the aspirations of Thebes, freely

¹ *Mixed races*. Holm, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. 84, 85. "Es lassen sich.....zusammenzuhängen" and "So könnte man.....Abgrenzung." Ernst Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. 246: "Im südlichen Theile der Landschaft erhielt sich altionische Bevölkerung, und wir wissen, wie spröde sich diese gegen die Aeolier verhielt, wie verschiedene Wege Plataiai und Theben gingen." The race-distinction of Aeolian and Ionian should be constantly borne in mind when the relations of Attica and Boeotia are being considered.

² Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 19, 162.

³ See Moritz Müller, *Gesch. Theb.*, p. 7, and K. O. Müller's map in his *Orchomenos*.

⁴ Pausan. ix. cc. 19, 20, and Strabo ix. 404 (p. 346 of Didot edition); Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 4, 4; Thucyd. iv. 76.

though it be admitted that those aspirations were often pursued with a vigour which passed into violence. The inconsistency in the case of Athens is particularly striking, for not content to be supreme in Attica she must needs convert the Confederacy of Delos into an Athenian Empire. And as for Sparta, her action with regard to the League was clearly dictated by her attitude from time to time towards Thebes. When friendly to Thebes, she helped her to maintain the confederacy against seceding members supported by Athens; when unfriendly, she followed the policy which came more natural to her, that of encouraging isolation¹.

Athens varied little in her hostility to Boeotian unity. Though it is of the grasping attitude (*πλεονεξία*) of Thebes in her relation to the various Boeotian towns that we naturally hear most in Attic writers (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5, 2), yet the aggressiveness of Athens herself is clearly seen not only in the case of Plataea (which lay on the Theban, not on the Athenian, side of Mount Cithaeron), but in that of Oropus, which may be regarded as typical of much border-warfare of which we have no record, but the likelihood of which the map of Attica and Boeotia, and the example of other Greek states, will sufficiently suggest². Like Plataea, Oropus lay beyond the natural boundaries of Attica, but it was coveted and seized because it was so convenient a harbour for the corn-supply from Euboea by way of Eretria. In B.C. 411 the Boeotians, to whom it was of almost equal importance, regained possession of it (Thucyd. viii. 60), and after that time it kept passing from one of the rival states to the other. A trial once famous but now most obscure, which hinged in some way upon the possession of Oropus, is alluded to by Plutarch as occurring in

¹ In illustration of the earlier Spartan policy (as distinguished from that which prevailed after the Peloponnesian War) see Diodor. Sic. xi. 81 (date: 457 B.C.): *οι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρίναντες συμφέροντα λέγειν αὐτοῦς, καὶ νομίζοντες τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν αὐξήσωσιν, ἔσσεσθαι τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥσπερ ἀντίπολιν τινα· διόπερ ἔχοντες τότε περὶ Τάναγραν ἔτοιμον καὶ μέγα στρατόπεδον, τῆς μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως μείζονα τὸν περίβολον κατεσκεύασαν, τὰς δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις ἠνάγκασαν ὑποτάττεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις.*

² This border-warfare was general in Greece: cp. the case of the Argives and Spartans in Cynuria.—*τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν.* Plutarch, *Demosthenis Vita*, c. v. Cp. Arnold Schäfer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*, i. 104 et seqq. (Revised Edition, 1885).—The List of Dates, given at the end of the volume, may be found of use, as illustrating the fortunes of Oropus and the general political history of Boeotia.

the boyhood of Demosthenes. Demosthenes himself, when working towards that deathbed reconciliation between the two rival states which preceded Chaeroneia, was anxious that Oropus should be in Theban hands. At a later date, Philip handed over the town to the Athenians, desiring no doubt to foment ill-feeling between Athens and Thebes. In the case of Oropus we see with the utmost clearness how highly inconvenient it was to have an 'Attic neighbour'; we agree with Pagondas before Delium that the contiguity of the Athenians might reasonably be regarded as a perpetual threat of annexation and required the special observance of the general rule that 'among neighbour-states antagonism is a condition of freedom'; and we apprehend the truth of the statement of Plutarch to the effect that 'disputes and hostilities between the two states (Athens and Thebes) were liable to break out at any moment owing to petty conflicts caused by their near neighbourhood.'

3. RELATIONS TO PERSIA.

οἱ γὰρ Φωκῆες μόνουι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὐρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ᾗζον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκῆες.

Herod. viii. 30.

It is not too much to say that the part taken by Boeotia in that great crisis for Greece which is marked by the Persian Wars affected the whole of her later history. One of those supreme struggles which are the making of nations had taken place; and Boeotia, for whatever reason, had stood upon the wrong side. There was no Marathon, no Thermopylae to inspire great deeds in the future; and Leuctra came too late.

The immediate disgrace was great, and Thebes bore the full weight of it. An attempt was even made to exclude Thebes from the Amphictyonic Council, and her authority with the members of the Boeotian League, notwithstanding their general concurrence in the action she had taken, was gravely shaken¹.

¹ *Thebes and the Amphictyonic Council.* See Plut. *Themist.* xx.

The following brief observations are offered not for the purpose of vindicating the Boeotians, but simply by way of extenuation. No complete apology is possible.

(1) To begin with, it is only fair to remember that all Boeotia did not desert the national cause. Plataea and Thespieae were, as has been already mentioned, honourable exceptions.

(2) It was a set of self-seeking and irresponsible oligarchs, and not the majority of the population, in the various Boeotian towns that decided the policy of their country at this momentous juncture. With regard to Thebes, we are expressly told that its inhabitants were divided upon the question of alliance with the Persians¹.

(3) These oligarchs were in strong and natural antagonism to the neighbouring democracy of Athens. And quite apart from political or constitutional differences, mere rivalry was, strange though it may seem, enough to determine the attitude assumed by the Greek states towards a common foe. A wide extension can be given to Herodotus' remark that the only reason, as far as he could conjecture, why the Phocians alone of the tribes in their part of the country did not join the Persians, was that they hated the Thessalians. 'If the Thessalians had supported the cause of Greece, then, as it seems to me, the Phocians would have favoured the Persians.' The Argives acted in a similar spirit out of jealousy of Sparta; and there is little doubt that the Boeotians acted thus largely out of ill-feeling towards Athens². This is not an agreeable picture of Greek politics, but it seems to be a true one. The large extent to which internal politics influenced, or were influenced by, the relations of the Greek states towards Persia now and in later times, is perhaps best grasped when looked at

¹ *Divided counsels in Boeotia.* Diod. Sic. xi. 4, 7. As to Thebes, cp. Thucyd. iii. 62 ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν· ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννῳ, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίᾳς δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ μᾶλλον στήσκειν, εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσκει, κατέχοντες ἰσχύϊ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν. καὶ ἡ ξυμπασα πόλις οὐκ αὐτοκράτῳ οὔσα ἐαυτῆς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεν, οὐδ' ἄξιον αὐτῇ δειδίσαι ὧν μὴ μετὰ νόμων ἤμαρτεν.

² For the discreditable conduct of Argos, see Plato *Leges* 692 E, and the general remark there made, πολλὰ δὲ λέγων ἂν τις τὰ τότε γενόμενα περὶ ἐκείνων τὸν πόλεμον τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς εὐσχήμονα ἂν κατηγοροί.

from what Mr Freeman would have called the 'œcumenical,' or world-wide, point of view in such a book as Von Ranke's *Weltgeschichte*¹. In the particular case under review the Boeotians knew that the Persian attack was primarily directed against the Athenians, their rivals and detractors. That they should step forward to intercept a blow about to be dealt their enemies by a power generally believed in Greece to be irresistible would seem to the Boeotians to be (if the anachronism involved in the phrase may be pardoned) the height of *Quixotism*. But whether Quixotic or not, such action would, if taken, have made all the difference in the future unity and influence of Boeotia².

¹ There is an English Translation by G. W. Prothero: *Universal History*, vol. i. —The reference to Pindar, at the end of the chapter, is *Olymp.* ii. 152: *φωδέντα συνετάσσω*.

² *General Note on Chapter II., Section 3.* There are many moot points in the accounts which have come down to us of the Persian Wars, and the general tendency among modern historians of Greece has been *not* to give the Boeotians the benefit of the doubt when there is any, but rather to let them suffer because of their bad name. Among matters which seem to need more light thrown upon them may be mentioned: the attitude of the various Greek states in the *First Persian War*, the conduct of the Thebans at Thermopylae, the precise meaning of *Βοιωτῶν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε* (Herod. viii. 34), the motives of the Theban oligarchy in the policy they adopted (cp. Thucyd. iii. 62), the religious influences which may be supposed to have acted on the Boeotians, etc., etc. Most of these points have been discussed by Busolt, Duncker, Holm, and others; but from the nature of the case, the results are not convincing. One thing, however, is certain, namely, the embitterment between the Athenians and the Thebans. On the side of the Thebans this was sufficiently proved at Plataea (Herod. ix. 67); on the part of the Athenians it came out almost brutally in the case of the golden shields bearing the legend 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Θηβαίων' (Aesch., c. *Ctesiph.*, 70, 1).

With regard to the attitude of one Theban in particular, Pindar, some observations will be found in Moritz Müller, *Gesch. Thebens*, pp. 28, 33, 34, 60, 65, and a fuller treatment in A. Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, ii. 369—371, and in the same author's *La Poésie de Pindare et les Lois du Lyrisme Grec*, pp. 259—273 ('Son patriotisme à l'égard de Thèbes, et sa conduite dans les événements politiques de son temps, notamment durant les guerres médiques'). In the volume last mentioned, A. Croiset discusses and controverts the passage of Polybius (iv. 31), which accuses the Thebans of acting as they did from cowardice, and which charges Pindar with offering them base counsel. Is it possible that Polybius, strictly impartial as he usually is, had some slight prejudice against the Boeotians which leads him to press a point against them just a little too far? [Cp. c. i. § 2.] In xxvii. 2 he refers contemptuously to the dissolution of the Boeotian League (171 B.C.): τὸ δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον συνετηρηκὸς τὴν κοινὴν συμπολιτείαν, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους καιροὺς διαπεφευγὸς παραδόξως, τότε προπετῶς καὶ

In the next chapter we shall treat of literature and the arts in Boeotia. With an account of the literature alone it would be necessary to fill not one but many chapters if we were to make the vain attempt to recite in full its praises. But the names speak for themselves. They are, each one in its way, *eloquent to the understanding ear*, to borrow a phrase from the indisputably brilliant poet who stands second on the list.

ἀλογίστως ἐλόμενον τὰ παρὰ Περσέως, εἰκὴ καὶ παιδαριωδῶς πτοηθὲν κατελύθη καὶ διεσκορπίσθη κατὰ πόλεις. Perhaps the fact that Polybius was a native of Megalopolis made him more keenly alive to what seemed degeneracy and flightiness on the part of the later Boeotians, of the greatness of whose ancestors the very existence of Megalopolis was a standing memorial.

For the tract *De Malignitate Herodoti* attributed to Plutarch, see pp. 98—112 of the recently published work of M. Amédée Hauvette, *Hérodote, Historien des Guerres Médiques* (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). Paris, 1894.

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS IN BOEOTIA.

1. LITERATURE.

Θέσπια καλλιγένεθλε, φιλόξενε, μουσοφίλητε.

Corinna.

IN literature the first eminent Boeotian name is that of HESIOD of Ascra. And strange though the high-pitched admiration of the ancients may sometimes seem in the sight of modern criticism, it must be remembered that Hesiod was the traditional founder of a separate poetical school, one which was distinctive in character and strong in influence. In modern terms it may be said of him that he was 'didactic' and 'realistic'; and these terms will well indicate the natural bent of his mind, which was not specially poetical, but conveyed its ideas in hexameter verse as the accepted vehicle of literary expression. Himself a son of the soil, Hesiod but seldom moved in the realm of the imagination. Used himself to 'drudge thro' dirt and mire, at plough or cart,' he was content with a Muse that was 'homely in attire.' And no doubt his influence was, in consequence, all the greater with the Boeotian farmers for whom he chiefly wrote. We know, too, that his poems were taught in schools, and we may imagine that Boeotian boys in the school at Mycalessus had just taken their places to learn portions of the national poet when those murderous Thracians burst in, to the horror of Greece and of the historian who tells the tale (Thucyd. vii. 29)¹.

¹ *Hesiod.* "Le réalisme de sa poésie tient donc au fond de son caractère. Ce n'est pas chez lui doctrine d'école; c'est le reflet même de toute sa manière d'être, de ses plus profondes habitudes de pensée et de sentiment." *Histoire de la Littéra-*

Whatever dispute there may have been as to the poetical quality of Hesiod, there has been none as to that of PINDAR, who has been pronounced, by the chief spokesman of culture in our day, to be 'saturated with the spirit of style.' Pindar was, with the later Greeks, pre-eminently ὁ λυρικός, and even in his lifetime his fame reached every quarter of the Greek world. His own Panhellenic sympathies are strikingly manifested even in the narrow compass of his extant poems, in which, as has been computed in a recent publication, there are allusions to no less than one hundred separate Greek localities; and from internal evidence it has been thought likely that the poet had himself visited most parts of Central Greece and the Peloponnese, together with Thessaly, Epirus, and perhaps Macedonia, in the north; the most important towns on the east coast of Sicily; most of the islands of the Aegean, particularly Euboea, Aegina, Delos, Rhodes, perhaps Crete; and lastly Cyrene. The Boeotian sites expressly named by Pindar are: Thebes, Orchomenus, Onchestus, Anthedon, Tanagra, Hyria. Against Athens Pindar displays no Boeotian prejudice. On the contrary, his lines

ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰστέφανοι καὶ αἰοιδμοί,
 'Ελλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον
 (Frg. 46)

were one of the chief glories of the imperial city, which shared the epithet λιπαραὶ (not yet ridiculed by the irreverent comedian) with the two great cities of Boeotia, Thebes (*Pyth.* ii. 3) and Orchomenus (*Olymp.* xiv. 3)¹.

In his poetry generally Pindar, like Milton, speaks in the *ture Grecque* i. 478 (M. Croiset).—For some examples of the realism of Hesiod, see an article by J. B. Bury in the *Scottish Review*, January 1894, on "The Works and Days: a Study in Greek Realism." For "Folk-Lore in the Works and Days of Hesiod," see E. E. Sikes in *Classical Review*, November, 1893; for Hesiod as a moralist, Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle*, i. pp. 86—89.—With regard to the subsequent influence of Hesiod, it will be remembered that the author of the *Georgics*, though writing with elaborate art, yet recognises his ancient model in the 'Song of Ascræ.' [*Ascræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.* Verg., *Georg.*, ii. 176.]

¹ H. Reinhold, *Griechische Oertlichkeiten bei Pindaros*. (Quedlinburg, 1894).—*Hyria*: between Thebes and Aulis on K. O. Müller's map. Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* i. 298.—For the appreciation which the Athenians showed of Pindar's lines in honour of their city, see Isocr. *Antidosis* § 87 (Jebb's *Attic Orators*, second edition, vol. ii. p. 140).

same tones from first to last. The style is in both cases the man, and the man is the proudly conscious holder of a sacred charge. We view the ample pinion, we hear the organ-voice, in the *Tenth Pythian* and the *Ode on the Nativity*, written though they were when their authors had barely reached the threshold of their manhood. It is only the natural prelude to all the later music when we read

The trumpet spake not to the armed throng ;

and it is only the first of many eagle-flights which is seen in

Μοῦσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί
 τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· παντὰ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων
 λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·
 δάφνη τε χρυσέα κόμας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλαπινάξουσιν εὐ-
 φρόνως.
 νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται
 ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πάνων δὲ καὶ μαχᾶν ἄτερ
 οἰκέοισι φηγόντες
 ὑπέρδικον Νέμεσιν¹.

Pind. *Pyth.* x. 37.

And yet, individual and unique as he is, Pindar is also a link—a massive and a priceless link—in the chain of Greek poetry. 'He continues the tradition which begins with Alcman and Stesichorus, while at the same time he may be regarded as, in a certain sense, the precursor of the Attic drama' (Jebb, *Growth and Influence of Classical Greek Poetry*, p. 144).

It will be remembered that, according to tradition, Pindar in his youth engaged in a poetical contest with CORINNA of Tanagra, and was defeated by her. At a later time Corinna, it is said, gave him a hint he needed. Observing how prodigally he had drawn upon the Theban mythology, she counselled him 'to sow

¹ The passage is semi-metrically translated by Ernest Myers: "Nor is the Muse a stranger to their lives, but everywhere are stirring to and fro dances of maidens and shrill noise of pipes: and binding golden bay-leaves in their hair they make them merry cheer. Nor pestilence nor wasting eld approach that hallowed race: they toil not neither do they fight, and dwell unharmed of cruel Nemesis." Mr Myers accidentally omits *λυρᾶν βοαὶ* in his translation, but Pindar's appreciation of the Athenian lyre as well as of the Athenian flute is perhaps of some significance, as will be remarked later in the case of Epaminondas.

with the hand, not with the whole sack¹. The anecdote is interesting as bringing the name of Pindar into connexion with that of Corinna. Corinna herself was said, together with Pindar, to have received some instruction from another Boeotian lyric poetess, MYRTIS of Anthedon. The very existence of these poetesses—we have not the materials for determining their exact position in literature—is of some importance when we recollect that no Greek woman of *Ionian* race is known to have submitted poetry to the appreciation of the public. That it was otherwise in Boeotia is regarded by Adolf Holm (*Griech. Gesch.* iii. 86) as an indication that women were held in higher honour there than at Athens. This fact, therefore, we may put to the credit of the Boeotians; and we can feel sure that not only Thespieae which Corinna singles out for praise, but many another town in Boeotia, could boast a 'goodly brood' of men and women, 'to love the stranger and be by the Muses loved.'

Passing by two Boeotian authors, Dionysodorus and Anaxis, of whom we know little more than that they related the history of Greece up to the date of the accession of Philip of Macedon (Diod. Sic. xv. 95), we come to a still later writer, PLUTARCH of Chaeroneia. Although living when the days of free Greece were long since past, Plutarch was a genuine patriot. He was a whole-hearted lover of Greece, of Boeotia, and of little Chaeroneia. With regard to the last he tells us that 'he clung fondly to the spot,' lest by leaving it he should make a small place, but one which had witnessed thrilling scenes, 'smaller yet' (*Demosthenis Vita*, c. ii)². It is scarcely possible to overrate the service which Plutarch has rendered to later ages by the use he has made of authorities now lost; and even granted that he himself aims at ethical portraiture rather than history proper, the happy result is that he has transmitted the spirit—and the inspiration—of antiquity to modern times with marvellous effect. His merits have been well appraised by Emerson. "Plutarch occupies a unique place in literature as an encyclopaedia of Greek and

¹ δειξαμένου δὲ τῇ Κορίνῳ, γελάσασα ἐκείνη τῇ χειρὶ δεῦν ἐφη σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δῶν τῷ θυλάκῳ. Plut., *De Gloria Atheniensium*, iv.

² ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες. Plut., *Vita Demosth.*, ii.

Roman antiquity. Whatever is eminent in fact or in fiction, in opinion, in character, in institutions, in science—natural, moral, or metaphysical, or in memorable sayings, drew his attention and came to his pen with more or less fulness of record..... He is not a profound mind; not a master in any science; not a lawgiver, like Lycurgus or Solon; not a metaphysician, like Parmenides, Plato, or Aristotle; not a naturalist, like Pliny or Linnaeus; not a leader of the mind of a generation, like Plato or Goethe. But if he had not the highest powers, he was yet a man of rare gifts. He had that universal sympathy with genius which makes all its victories his own; though he never used verse, he had many qualities of the poet in the power of his imagination, the speed of his mental associations, and his sharp, objective eyes. But what specially marks him, he is a chief example of the illumination of the intellect by the force of morals. Though the most amiable of boon-companions, this generous religion gives him *aperçus* like Goethe's¹."

2. THE ARTS.

Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προὔκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς.

Vers. ap. Dion. Chrys. (Or. vii. 121).

From literature the transition to the arts is always easy; and it is in Pindar that the most obvious connecting link will be found in the present case. Lyric poetry such as Pindar's implies not only supreme mastery over metre, but also skill in music, and the power of uniting both music and metre with the complex movements of the choral dance. Pindar is said to have studied flute-playing at Athens under Lasus of Hermione; but he would appear to have had his first lessons from a member of his own family, in which, as in other noble houses at Thebes, the art was probably hereditary. In any case, it would not be in the least necessary for him to leave his native city in order to learn; for however different it might be with the other arts, there was

¹ R. W. Emerson—Introduction to Plutarch's *Morals*: Revised Translation by W. W. Goodwin, 1870.

ground for believing, as the line given above asserts, that in flute-playing the general voice of Greece assigned to Thebes a triumphant place. The Athenians might not concur in the verdict; or if they did concur, it would be from contempt. The bitter words of the boy Alcibiades will be recalled. Having learnt the other arts, he stopped short at flute-playing. "Let Theban youths play the flute, for they know not how to talk. We Athenians look to Athene and Apollo as the patrons and protectors of our race; and Athene flung away the flute, while Apollo flayed alive the Flute-Player." The chief personal objection of this follower of Athene's was an 'aesthetic' one, which could hardly be expected to appeal to the Boeotians with their deplorable *ἀναισθησία*. The inflated cheeks of the flute-player were not a pretty sight¹.

Aristotle takes up more serious ground. The flute, as an instrument, was too exciting; its moral effect, therefore, was bad². This is the view maintained by Aristotle, and by others who write from an Attic standpoint. But the object with which flute-playing was made a part of Theban education was the exact opposite of this; it was intended to calm, not to excite. We are expressly told that from early youth the Thebans were accustomed to listen to the flute as to an instrument of high honour, when in grave earnest as well as when merry-making; and that their passionate and violent natures were, in the opinion of their legislators, thereby tempered and mollified³.

The discrepancy, however, is probably not so great as at first sight it seems to be. Aristotle himself, in the passage just referred to, admits that the passions were relieved by flute-playing, and he may have been prepared to regard this branch of music as an excellent discipline for Thebans, as listeners if not as performers⁴.

¹ Plut. *Alcib.* ii. 6. Cp. Plut. *Rep.* iii. 399 D, E.

² *ἔτι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἡθικὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους αὐτῷ καιροῦς χρηστέον ἐν οἷς ἡ θεωρία κάθαρσιν μᾶλλον δύναται ἢ μάθησιν.* Ar. *Polit.* v. (viii.) 6.

³ Plut. *Pelop.* xix.

⁴ With regard to the effect on the player, it is worth noting that a modern schoolmaster (E. W. Howson, in *Thirteen Essays on Education*, p. 36) soberly maintains, as a result of his observation, that there is something in performance on a wind instrument which is "particularly salutary for a boy with excessive and boisterous vitality."

Perhaps also some of the strains played showed both of these opposite tendencies. This may well have been the case with one which had a proverbial acceptance, the *Βοιωτίος νόμος*. The expression was used to signify a tranquil start and an excited finish¹. The fact that the ascetic Pythagoreans practised flute-playing would seem to show that it had a good side². The bad side may have been highly developed at Athens because of the low esteem into which the art itself had, as a specially Boeotian accomplishment, there fallen³.

The necessary material for the making of flutes was always at hand in Boeotia. Auletic reeds (*δόνακες*) abounded in the marshy neighbourhood of Lake Copais⁴. Nor were professors of the art wanting from the earliest times. One of the first to show how playing of the flute could be accompanied by rhythmical movements of the body was Cleophantus of Thebes⁵. Pronomus, another Theban, won a great reputation, at the time of the Peloponnesian War, for artistic playing and artistic motion. A more special distinction, however, for Pronomus was that, by some mechanical device, he constructed a flute suitable at once for the Dorian, the Phrygian, and the Lydian modes, which previously required separate instruments for their expression⁶. Orthagoras,

¹ Cp. Leutsch u. Schn., i. 49, i. 333, i. 357, ii. 106. Pseudo-Plutarch. *Proverb. Alex.* 77 ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς ἀρχαῖς ἡμεραιῶς ἔχοντων, αἰθῆς δὲ σφοδρῶς ἐπιγιγνομένων. Zenobius, *Proverb.*, ii. 65, where reference is made to Sophocles (see Dindorf *Poet. Scen.*⁵ ii. p. 168). Cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 13, 14.

² Athenaeus iv. 184 e: καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἡσκησαν, ὡς Εὐφράνωρ καὶ Ἀρχύτας Φιλόλαός τε ἄλλοι τε οὐκ ὀλίγοι· ὁ δὲ Εὐφράνωρ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ αὐλῶν κατέλιπεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀρχύτας.

³ The tendency to write, upon this matter, as if the Attic were necessarily the Greek standpoint is illustrated by the following extract. "Nothing shows the importance which the Greeks attached to music more than their strong condemnation of the flute as compared with the lyre. The one was the basis of true wisdom and morality, the other the instrument of general laxity and corruption." Oscar Browning, *Educational Theories*, p. 9.—It may be added here that by αὐλός would ordinarily be meant an instrument not exactly like our flute (= πλαγίανλος, i.e. αὐλός held crosswise), but one more closely resembling our clarinet.

⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* xii. 44. Strabo ix. 407.

⁵ Athen. i. 22, c [Porson, Κλεόφαν τῶν].

⁶ Pausan. ix. 12, 5 and 6.—*Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian Modes*. The latest authority is the work, just published, of Dr D. B. Monro, *The Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, Clarendon Press, 1894. The conclusions there (p. 101) arrived at are (1) that "there was no such distinction in ancient Greek music as that which

again, is alluded to in Plato's *Protagoras* as one of the most famous musicians of the day¹. The most celebrated of all the Theban masters of the flute was Antigenidas, who is to be regarded as a contemporary of Epaminondas, and probably as the son of the Dionysius who taught music to the great Theban in his youth². Epaminondas once indicated the eminence of Antigenidas in a telling way, contrasting him with a poor player Tellen, and implying that the one reached the zenith, the other the nadir of his art. He had just heard that the Athenians had despatched to the Peloponnese a force of men accoutred in new armour. 'What now?' he asked. 'Does Antigenidas groan and moan because Tellen has bought a new flute?'³

Thus in flute-playing Boeotia, Thebes especially, won an almost unchallenged supremacy. But even in painting and sculpture, that ill-famed country is not altogether without names of note. It will be convenient to take painting first, although chronologically

scholars have drawn between Modes (*ἀρμοῖαι*) and Keys (*τόνοι* or *τρόποι*); and (2) that "the musical scales denoted by these terms were primarily distinguished by difference of *pitch*,—that in fact they were so many keys of the standard scale known in its final form as the Perfect System." Dr Monro appeals for confirmation to the music of the *Hymn to Apollo* (date, about 278 B.C.) discovered last year (1898) at Delphi by the French Archaeological School of Athens. [For the 'Aeolian harmony,' see Monro, p. 6.]

¹ Plato, *Protag.*, 318 c.

² Plut. *De Mus.* 31 (R. Volkmann's edition, Leipzig, 1856). Corn. Nep. *Epam.* 2. Max Dinse, *De Antigenida Thebano Musico*.

³ Plut., *Reg. et Imperat. Apophthegmata*, 194 A. Cp. Pseudo-Plutarch., *Proverb. Alex.* 27, *ἀεῖδε τοὺς Τέλληνος* ('Drone away like Tellen.' Sub. *νόμους*).—A good saying on the part of Antigenidas is recorded by Val. Max., *Fact. Dict. Mem.*, iii. 7, 2 (*De Fiducia Sui*).—*Luther and the Flute*. The remembrance of Luther's liking for the flute ought to inspire respect for the instrument. It could not be said of Luther as the old Greek distich said of the professional flute-player: *ἀνδρὶ μὲν αὐλητῇ θεοὶ νόον οὐκ ἐπέφυσαν* | ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ φρεσὶν χῶ νόος ἐκπύεται (Athenaeus viii. 337 B.). "Luther's character appears to me the most worth discussing of all modern men's. He is, to say it in a word, a great man in every sense; he has the soul at once of a conqueror and a poet. His attachment to music is to me a very interesting circumstance; it was the channel for many of his finest emotions, for which words, even words of prayer, were but an ineffectual exponent. Is it true that he did leave Wittenberg for Worms with nothing but his Bible and his flute? There is no scene in European history so splendid and significant." Carlyle's *Journal*, in Froude's *Carlyle* ii. p. 76.—Cp. also Milton (*Par. Lost* i. 549—559) on the inspiring and the soothing effect of 'the Dorian mood Of flutes and soft recorders.'

it followed sculpture, in Boeotia as in Greece generally. The art flourished for a period of half-a-century, beginning a little before the date of Philip's accession and not extending beyond the death of Alexander. The two most distinguished members of the *Theban School* (if so it may be called) were Nicomachus and Aristeides. Aristeides was a contemporary of Apelles; he was also a relative of Nicomachus, but what the exact degree of kinship was is a matter of dispute. Nicomachus himself is by Plutarch ranked with Apelles and Zeuxis. And although some allowance may have to be made on the score of Plutarch's Boeotian patriotism, the testimony of Cicero and Pliny is subject to no such deduction. They had, also, every opportunity of judging, for his finest productions, one of which it sometimes asked the wealth of a whole town to buy, were to be seen at Rome. Some of the subjects of Nicomachus were: *Apollo and Artemis*, *Rape of Persephone*, *Scylla*, and a *Victory*. Small copies of the *Victory* are thought to have been transmitted to our day on an ancient gem wrought with rare art, and on some Roman coins bearing the name of L. Plautius Plancus. The masterpiece of Nicomachus was the *Tyndaridae*, mentioned with enthusiasm by Pliny¹.

Aristeides was even more famous than Nicomachus, from whose practice he varied in one important particular. Like Nicomachus, Aristeides chose, as some of his subjects, gods and battles; but unlike Nicomachus and unlike his predecessors generally, he, to quote from Pliny, 'animum pinxit et sensus hominis expressit, quae vocant Graeci *ethe*, item perturbaciones.' That is to say, he made a conscious effort to represent the moral workings (*ἡθῆ*), and the emotions (*πάθη*), of the soul of man. Like Euripides, he would seem to have attempted in his art a development the wisdom or necessity of which this is not the place to discuss, except in so far as it is obvious that, artistically, such an extension imported danger to the noble simplicity and harmony which

¹ Plut., *De Mulier. Virt. (Praefat.)*. See, also, for the particulars which follow: Cic. *Brut.* xviii. Pliny xxxv. 32; 36 § 22; 40 § 41. Decharme, *De Theb. Artif.* Otto Schuchardt, *Nikomachus: Eine archäologische Studie*, Weimar, 1866. H. Cohen, *Description générale des monnaies de la république romaine*, pl. xxxiii. 7, 8 (Paris, 1857). C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (London, 1885), p. 278 (doubtful ascription).—Some remarks on Nicomachus will also be found in Max Lehnerdt, *De Locis Plutarchi ad Artem Spectantibus*.

underlay all purely Hellenic art, while historically it may be taken to reflect the deepening sense of a common humanity which marked the period when the political life of Greece was about to be merged in that of a larger world. Aristeides expressed τὰ ἥθη in such pictures as *Tragedian and Boy*, *Huntsmen with Quarry*, *Old Man teaching the Lyre to a Youth*; τὰ πάθη, in such as, *The Suppliant*, *The Sick Man*, *The Dying Mother*. The last-named picture, to judge from Pliny's description and from an Epigram in the *Anthology*, did not escape the morbidity which is the besetting sin of this class of art. The *Huntsmen with Quarry*, on the other hand, was, as its subject might indicate, at once a healthy and an exceedingly lifelike piece of work, if we are to follow Brunn in regarding it as identical with the picture of which a detailed description is given by Philostratus Junior¹.

In sculpture the great name would be Myron, did we feel at liberty to claim Myron as a Boeotian in virtue of his birth at the frontier-town of Eleutherae. But Eleutherae belonged more to Athens than to Boeotia, and Pausanias expressly calls Myron an Athenian. Generally, it may be remarked that, in the case of districts so small and lying so close together as Boeotia and Attica, it is impossible, owing to the difficulty of determining the amount of intercommunication existing at any stated time, to distinguish precisely what belonged to one and what to the other. It has been customary among archaeologists to speak of Myron as a 'Boeotian artist,' but the reference has been rather to the fact of his birth at a town which was once Boeotian than to his style, and any further claim than is therein implied it would not be right to advance².

¹ Pliny xxxv. 36 § 19. P. Decharme, *De Theb. Artif.*, pp. 34—44. (On p. 38 Decharme gives, after Brunn ii. 161, an interesting description of the Roman fortunes of the picture *Dionysus and Ariadne*.) The reference to Philostratus Junior is *Imagg.* iv. (cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler*, ii. p. 178); to the *Anthology*, F. Dübner's *Epigr. Anth. Pal.* i. vii. 623 (p. 393: cp. p. 491).—For Greek Painting generally, see Cecil Smith's article *Pictura* in the last edition of Sir William Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, and his promised 'Handbook of Greek Painters.' Mr Cecil Smith thinks that the facts given by Pliny point to the existence of two masters of the name of Aristeides.

² Pausan. vi. 2, 2. Percy Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 111: "It is worthy of remark that the time of the great Boeotian artist Myron is also the time when a great variety of interesting types appear in the usually monotonous and inartistic

There is reason, nevertheless, quite apart from individuals, to think that, in the plastic arts as well as in other respects, the Boeotians have been unduly overshadowed by the Athenians. The excavations conducted from 1884 to 1888 at the temple of Apollo Ptoios near Acraephium are supposed to have proved the existence of an early Boeotian school of sculpture, of which the marked characteristics are naturalness and sincerity. And the better-known discoveries at Tanagra (1870—1889) have revealed equally interesting and unsuspected artistic tendencies at a later period. With regard to the terra-cotta statuettes or 'figurines' of Tanagra, the scope of this volume will not admit of more than the following brief observations, which seem to accord with the views of those most competent to judge¹.

coinage of Boeotia."—For some account of individual Theban sculptors, see Decharme, *De Theb. Art.*, pp. 15—26 (cp. Pausan. ix. *passim*). They were distinguished mainly for their work in bronze and their statues of athletes.—*Intercommunication between Boeotia and Attica*. See the ancient roads marked in red upon the Map. See also Kiepert's New Atlas, and the section on the passes from Attica to Boeotia in G. B. Grundy's *Topography of the Battle of Plataea* (London, 1894). "It (sc. Attica) is separated from Boeotia by a range of lofty, and in most cases inaccessible mountains, which extend from the Corinthian Gulf to the channel of Euboea. The most important part of this range, immediately south of Thebes and Plataea, and near the Corinthian gulf, was called Cithaeron..... Through the range of Cithaeron and Parnes there are three principal passes, all of which were of great importance in ancient times for the protection of Attica on the side of Boeotia. The most westerly of these passes was the one through which the road ran from Thebes and Plataeae to Eleusis; the central one was the pass of Phyle, through which was the direct road from Thebes to Athens; and the eastern one was the pass of Decelleia, leading from Athens to Oropus and Delium." (Smith's *Dictionary of Geography* i. pp. 321, 2.) On the general question, cp. Ernst Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1894), Bd. i., pp. 3—116 ('Zur Geschichte des Wegebau bei den Griechen').

¹ *Supposed indebtedness to Attica*. Those who start with the traditional anti-Boeotian prejudice would attribute everything to Attic workmanship or Attic influence. Let us take the case before us, that of the Tanagra statuettes, which seem to bear the stamp of a native industry upon them, to say nothing of the direct evidence of Pausanias as to the local existence, at a later date, of potters if not of *coroplastae* (Pausan. ix. 19, 8: ἀνθρωποι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλκιδι οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πολλοί, γῆς δὲ εἰσὼ οὔρου κεραμεῖς). The suggestion of the detractors is that the statuettes were purchased by rich Boeotian citizens from Attic workmen, or that they were at best only Boeotian copies from Attic models. But what sufficient evidence is there of this? There may be something in the conjecture that the Tanagra statuettes owe their preservation rather to special burial customs than to special skill in art. But when we consider how badly Boeotia has fared in the records of literature and

(1) They exhibit the *realism* which was no doubt characteristic of the age in which they were produced (3rd and 4th centuries B.C.), but was also peculiarly characteristic of Boeotia from the days of Hesiod downwards. They bring vividly before the mind scenes and incidents from everyday life, and with regard to details of costume and coiffure they form quite a mirror of the fashions of the time.

(2) It is worth notice that the persons represented are (children apart) more often *women* than men. Here again a contemporary movement has been detected; that which, during the age inaugurated by Alexander, brought Greek women into positions of greater influence and prominence. But we are free to go further and to reckon this among any other indications we possess that women were specially honoured in Boeotia. Among these other indications is the fact, attested by inscriptions, that in Boeotia women sometimes received those marks of recognition for public service which elsewhere were rendered to men alone¹.

(3) Altogether, the statuettes are very *modern* in character, and naturally prompted Olivier Rayet's exclamation, when he compared them with more recent works of fancy: "Qui eût dit, il y a cinquante ans, que la Grèce s'était jamais amusée à de semblables plaisanteries, que ses artistes avaient eu toute la coquetterie pimpante, toute l'imagination fantaisiste du xviii^e siècle, avec cette force de construction et cette discrétion exquise que le xviii^e siècle

history, we shall not feel eager to explain away the records which her very tombs have at last edited in refutation of Attic calumnies.—*Excavations at Temple of Apollo Ptoios*. Holleaux, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1885—1888, and Diehl, *Excursions in Greece*, pp. 200 ff. Holleaux in a communication to the volume of 1887 (p. 200) thinks himself justified in concluding that "les figures d' 'Apollon' découvertes dans le bassin du Copais, à Orchomène, à Perdico-Vrysi (Acraephiae), portent très-profondément marquée, l'empreinte caractéristique d'un art indigène,—l'art béotien archaïque jusqu'ici mal connu." He recognises, however, that there may be traces of Peloponnesian influence.—Is the Boeotian treasure-house which is said to have been recently discovered at Delphi likely to throw any light upon the question of Boeotian art?

¹ Preuss, *Quaest. Boeot.*, p. 18. [For female figures in the tombs of Tanagra, see a different explanation, from that given in the text, in Percy Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 353.]—As to one aspect of the women of Thebes in particular, see Ps.-Dic. (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* p. 103): αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τοῖς μεγέθεσι, ποπelaus, ῥυθμοῖς εὐσχημονέστανται τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστανται τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γυναικῶν. Μαρτυρεῖ Σοφοκλῆς Ὅψας λέγεις μοι κ.τ.λ. [The fragment will be found in Dr Lewis Campbell's *Sophocles* ii. p. 548.]

n'a pas connues, et que cet esprit fin et léger, dont nous autres Français nous nous attribuons volontiers l'apanage, était né, il y a vingt et un siècles.....en Béotie¹!"

- (4) They also suggest, in conclusion, sundry reflexions with respect to *popular culture*, as indicated by them or by any other signs and tokens. It is probable that most of the statuettes were produced subsequently to the destruction of Thebes by Alexander; — and from that time onward Tanagra was the most populous town in Boeotia, a position which it continued to hold in the time of the Emperor Augustus, when it is named, along with Thespiae, by Strabo as one of the two towns of Boeotia which still stood their ground². What, then, is implied in the way of popular character and culture by these statuettes found thus at the largest town in Boeotia, and also at various other centres throughout the country, e. g. Thebes, Thespiae, and Abae? Or better still, what independent evidence have we as to the state of things which co-existed with, or immediately followed, the period of the production of the figurines? In a general description given of the people of Tanagra at a date probably subsequent to that period, we are told that the inhabitants of the district are blessed with an abundance of worldly possessions, but are simple in their ways of life. They — are upright, true, and hospitable. The pursuit of unjust gain is entirely foreign to their nature. Their town is the safest of all in Boeotia for strangers to dwell in, since the inhabitants are industrious and independent, and hate all villainy with a hatred which they take no trouble to disguise or moderate.—The picture just given is a pleasant one, but it should be admitted that it is the work of one who is a late writer (the Pseudo-Dicaearchus) and a man of doubtful judgment³.

Whatever opinion may be held as to the native origin of these statuettes (for on this point some scepticism, as we have seen, has been expressed), or as to the skill and joy implied in their

¹ Olivier Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, Paris, 1880, fol. Livraison II., Planche XII., 'Amours en terre cuite trouvés à Tanagra (Musée du Louvre).'

² *Strabonis Geographica curantibus C. Müllero et F. Dübner*, p. 352, l. 32.

³ Pseudo-Dic. (C. Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, I. 101). It should be added that the inhabitants were, in the time of the writer, πάντες γεωργοί, οὐκ ἐργάται, whatever the precise significance of this may be. He testifies to the presence of local clay, and of ἐγκαύματα ἀναθηματικά (= terra-cottas, *Kekulé*) in public places.

modelling and in the free play of fancy which has touched and re-touched them, it will probably be agreed that they prove the existence of at least some amount of popular culture in the places where they are now found so plentifully and once were no doubt to be found in homes and places of public resort. Similarly, although we may not divine with certainty the religious purpose which they served, we may safely assume that there was some religious feeling behind them¹.

In Boeotia, as in Greece generally, the advance of culture was closely associated with, and affected by, religious observances. The effect of these observances will be variously estimated. On the one hand, the leaning of the Boeotians towards superstition and cruder rites must have been a hindrance, especially when we compare the superior enlightenment of Athens; on the other hand, the exceptionally numerous national and local cults of the country must have, in many cases, by means of attendant games encouraged music and literature. Instances of festivals of this nature are the *Museia* [Festival of the Muses] on Mount Helicon, the *Charitesia* [Festival of the Graces] at Orchomenus, the *Ptoia* [Festival of Apollo Ptoios] at Acraephium, and many others the existence of which is proved by inscriptions².

¹ Ernst Curtius in his paper on 'Zwei Giebelgruppen aus Tanagra' (*Gesamm. Abh.* ii. pp. 315—337) says: "Die besprochenen Giebelgruppen geben uns einen neuen Beweiss für den feinen Kunstsinn der Tanagräer und die würdige Art, in welcher sie ihre Familiengräber auszustatten wussten" (p. 335).—For some remarks in qualification of current views as to the universal diffusion of culture in Attica, see J. P. Mahaffy's *Social Life in Greece* (concluding chapters), and comp. J. W. Mackail's remarks (*Classical Review*, June 1894, p. 258) on the 'curiously narrow ideal of the average Greek bourgeoisie.' The other side of the picture is well given in one of the earlier essays of Macaulay, in which he refers to the Athenian populace as listening to the Olympian roll of the oratory of Pericles, or gazing at Pheidias as he puts up the frieze of the Parthenon; and by Matthew Arnold (*Mixed Essays*, p. 39), where he speaks with enthusiasm of 'the spectacle of the culture of a people,' and of 'the many who relished those arts, who were not satisfied with less than those monuments.' But the rural population of Attica must not be left out of account: cp. Thucyd. ii. 14, 15, and Aristophanes *passim*.

² Preuss, *Quaest. Boeot.*, p. 26: "Hoc unum imprimis lapides, qui quasi patroni Boeotorum exstiterunt, docent eos non ita, ut a plerisque scriptoribus traditum legimus, a cultu et humanitate afuisse, quippe quos non modo deorum cultum religiosissime tutatos esse, verum etiam elegantiores artes non minus coluisse quam reliquas Graeciae gentes videamus." In Boeotia, Apollo and Dionysus and Heracles were chiefly worshipped. The shrines of the powers of the lower world, and the

An allied point is the connexion of culture in Boeotia with the mythical past of the country. That past was distinguished beyond measure. Seven-gated Thebes was famous when Athens and Sparta were barely known. And yet it was at Athens that the great Theban legends were ennobled and immortalised by 'gorgeous Tragedy,' and shaped by alien hands into the imposing forms of an *Oedipus* or an *Antigone*. At Thebes itself the imagination was apt to keep close to the ground and point out the actual spot where the Sparti sprang fully armed from the soil, or Teiresias watched the flight of birds, or the sons of Oedipus fell with mutual slaughter. Thucydides tells us that "sixty years after the capture of Ilium the present Boeotians, being driven from Arne by the Thessalians, settled in the land formerly called Cadmeis, but now Boeotia." The break thus caused in the national tradition will help to explain, among many other things, how the legends of Thebes had lost much of their vital power among the inhabitants of the land. Much, but not all: for we may regard it as significant that both Pindar and Epaminondas traced their descent to the old Cadmean families¹.

The second part of this chapter has extended to a length which may well seem out of proportion to that of the earlier and more important section. The reason is that the great names of Boeotian literature are known to everyone, whereas the fact that there was any Boeotian art at all is sometimes questioned.

seats of oracles, were unusually numerous: cp. the cult of the *Κάβειροι* at Thebes, and the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia. For a Boeotian festival corresponding to an English May Day, see Frazer's *Golden Bough* i. 100.

¹ *Influence of native mythology at Thebes.* Cp. Pausan. ix. *passim*. But perhaps this reference is a little less than fair to Thebes, as (1) Pausanias is writing at a late date, and gives the average point of view of the multitude, (2) in earlier times those capable of being inspired by such influences (men like Pindar and Epaminondas) doubtless were so inspired. Both Pindar and Epaminondas were of old descent: as to the latter, see Pausan. viii. 11, 8 (cp. Plut., *Pelop.* iii.). It may be added here that, as contrasted with Pindar, Corinna, writing in the *Boeotian* dialect, seems to have dwelt more on the *Boeotian* past of the race (Grote, i. 250 n.).—The reference to Thucydides is: i. 12, *Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀργεῖς ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλοῦμένην ᾤκισαν.* Cp. Herod. v. 57.

CHAPTER IV.

EPAMINONDAS. CHARACTER AND CULTURE UNIQUELY UNITED.

EPAMINONDAS PRINCEPS MEO IUDICIO GRAECIAE.

Cic., *Tusc. Disp.*, I. 2, 4.

μετέσχε γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ πάσης παιδείας καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας.

Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.*, xv. 39.

ONE of the best possible examples of character and culture, whether in Boeotia or in any other country, is furnished by Epaminondas. But it may be well first to consider whether, in that attractive combination, Epaminondas had, on a smaller scale, any immediate Boeotian forerunners. There must have been some such heralds of the dawn of the brief bright day of Boeotian history, since national greatness does not come wholly unannounced; but in the scantiness of the materials at our disposal we cannot look for much information upon the point. However, two or three examples readily present themselves. They are Simmias and Cebes as they cross the pages of Plato; and Proxenus as lightly sketched by Xenophon. The interest of these minor personalities in connexion with the great personality of Epaminondas has not, perhaps, been sufficiently observed.

Simmias and Cebes were among the close friends of Socrates present at his death. They occupy the position of chief interlocutors in the last Dialogue in which Plato's master is represented as taking part. Themselves disciples of Philolaus the Pythagorean philosopher of Thebes, they had been drawn to Athens by the magic spells of Socrates (*Xen. Memor.* iii. 11, 17). They are mentioned by Plato as men ready to provide money in order to

But without further dwelling on losses which are irreparable and on prejudices which we must take as we find them, we will, with the materials which we possess, briefly examine the career of
 - Epaminondas, regarding him as the flower of Boeotian character and culture.

Plutarch has told us with regard to Epaminondas that for the first forty years of his life he lived in obscurity, but later he won the public confidence, was placed in high office, and rescued
 - his own city from destruction and Greece from servitude. But during these forty years he had been trained himself, and he had been training others. In early life he had the best teachers in music, singing, and dancing. Their names are recorded, and it would seem that Epaminondas learnt the Athenian lyre as well as the Boeotian flute. The Boeotians, to their credit and to their
 - advantage, were not ashamed to learn of Athens¹.

Diodorus has informed us, in the passage quoted at the head of this chapter, that Epaminondas was deeply versed in all branches of culture or education, and particularly in the Pythagorean philosophy. The special reference here is to the Pythagorean philosopher Lysis. It would seem that among all the teachers of his youth Epaminondas owed most to this Lysis, who, when driven from Southern Italy, had been received into the house of Epaminondas' father Polymnis, where he remained until his death. Philolaus, it will be remembered, was another Pythagorean settled at Thebes. Possibly these philosophers were connected with Thebes by some family tie; possibly they were attracted by the growing appreciation shown there for the highest culture the Greek world could afford. The Pythagoreans paid due heed
 - to the formation of character as well as to mental illumination. They formed a sort of religious order or brotherhood, penetrated by the belief that philosophy was above all things a way of life. The immured Malvolio is in error when he seemingly argues, from their doctrine of metempsychosis, that the Pythagoreans

¹ *Early Life and Training of Epaminondas.* Plut. 1129 c (*De Latenter Vivendo*): 'Επαμεινώνδας γοῦν, εἰς τεσσαροκοστὸν ἔτος ἀγροηθείς, οὐδὲν ὥνησε Θηβαίους ὑστερον δὲ πιστευθείς καὶ ἀρχάς, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπολλυμένην ἔσωσε, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα δουλεύουσαν ἡλευθέρωσεν.—Corn. Nep., *Epam.* ii. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 2, 4. Athenaeus iv. 184. For Dionysius, cp. Plut. *De Musica* 31.

thought otherwise than nobly of the soul. Rather, there was a depth and harmony about their whole philosophy which would appeal strongly to the nature of Epaminondas¹. The ascetic practices of the school may be supposed, whatever their origin, to have been of peculiar virtue among the Boeotians with their alleged tendency to over-indulgence, a tendency which the example of their own patron-god Heracles would do nothing to restrain². Athenaeus, one of the chief retailers of the stock accusations against the Boeotians, says of Pythagoras that he drank little and lived with the utmost simplicity, being often content with honey only; and he immediately adds the interesting statement that similar things are related of Aristides ('the Just'), and of Epaminondas and Phocion and Phormion. It is said elsewhere of Epaminondas that he "loved to fight with those enemies who were corpulent; and such souldiers as he found in his owne bands grosse and fat, he would be sure to cashire and displace them, if it were for nothing else." He evidently set his face strongly against the national tendency to good living, which may have been encouraged by the *common meals* (συσσίτια), condemned for other reasons by Plato in the *Laws*. From the *γυμνάσια* or *gymnastic schools* (referred to in the same passage of Plato) he endeavoured to derive good for himself by using them as an instrument for developing agile strength rather than brute force³.

A favourite precept of the Pythagoreans was that of communism

¹ *The Pythagoreans*. Boeckh, *Philolaos*, p. 10. Perhaps the philosopher Philolaus was descended from Philolaus, the early Bacchiad legislator of Thebes, for whose work see Aristot. *Politics* ii. 12, 10. Grote ii. 298. [One noteworthy provision of this legislator is indicated thus: ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μετέχειν ἀρχῆς. Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 5, 7: vii. (vi.) 7, 4.]—For Pythagoreanism as a way of life, see Plato, *Rep.* x. 600 B, and J. Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophers* (London, 1892), pp. 94 and 87.

² *Heracles*. Cp. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* XLV. pp. 555 ff., where Julius Beloch, in an article on *Die Dorische Wanderung*, shows (p. 579) how wide-spread the worship of Heracles was in Boeotia. Erasm. *Adagg.* p. 369: Sunt autem inter se cognata vitia πολυφαγία et stultitia. Atque hinc Herculem Thebanum edacem faciunt, sed eundem a literis alienissimum, adeo ut praeceptorem suum trucidarit.

³ *Epaminondas as spare liver and athlete*. Athen. x. 419.—Plut., *Reg. et Imperat. Apophth.*, p. 192: διὰ καὶ τοῖς πολυσάρκοις ἐπολέμει, καὶ τινα τοιοῦτον ἀπῆλασε τῆς σπαρτιάς, ἐκτῶν, κ.τ.λ. Philemon Holland has here slightly misunderstood the Greek, which refers solely to the war which Epaminondas waged against corpulence in his own ranks. But his translation deserves to stand in all its original raciness.

among friends (*κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων*). That precept well expresses the relation between Epaminondas and Pelopidas (who were justly celebrated for their friendship) on the intellectual and spiritual side; and if it did not apply on the material side also, the sole reason was that Epaminondas refused the wealth which his friend pressed upon him. The full record of their friendship must be read elsewhere: it has in it many of the elements of romance, while of the jealousy which so often sunders public men it shows no single trace. That spirit of envy (*φθόνος*) which was the peculiar detestation of their national poet Pindar was altogether alien to the nature of these two great Boeotians.

Epaminondas was strongly attached to his teacher Lysis, and there is no doubt that his whole life and character were coloured by his association with him. From him he would obtain instruction in much which in England we no longer include under the term *philosophy*. The art of oratory, for example, in which Epaminondas so greatly excelled, was probably taught him by Lysis, unless it be conjectured that, like Proxenus, he had come into contact with Gorgias, who paid a short visit to Thebes in the course of what we should now call a professional tour¹.

Altogether, the influence of Lysis, on Epaminondas at least, was so great that Alcidas did not speak at random when he said that no sooner had the leaders at Thebes become philosophers than the city entered on its period of prosperity². That period was an approach to a realisation of Plato's dream, a nearer approach than Plato himself saw under Dionysius the Younger, though not so near as that under Marcus Aurelius many centuries later.

—*συστήτρια* and *γυμνάσια*, Plato, *Leges* 636 a, b. It has not been thought necessary to deal with the subject of *παιδευασια*, for which see Jowett's *Plato* (last edition) i. 537.—Corn. Nep. *Epam.* ii.: postquam ephebus est factus et palaestrae dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit quam velocitati. We might say, generally, of Epaminondas that he lived an 'ascetic,' or laborious, life (*ἀσκητικὸν τινα βίον*, Plato, *Legg.*, 806 A), but one 'touch'd with no ascetic gloom.'

¹ Plut., *De Gen. Socr.*, 583: πλὴν γε δὴ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναπλέων εἰς Σικελίαν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς περὶ Ἄρκεσον βεβαίως, Δύσιδι συγγεγονέναι διατρίβοντι περὶ Θήβας.

² Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 23 § 10: καὶ Θήβησιν ἅμα οἱ προστάται φιλόσοφοι ἐγένοντο καὶ εὐδαιμόνησεν ἡ πόλις. Alcidas, to whom the words are attributed, was a rhetorician, a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini. See J. E. Sandys in *Classical Review*, ix. 114.

When Epaminondas came forward as a leader, about the year 380 B.C., his native city, once so famous, was ground down beneath the heel of the oppressor. When he died, eighteen years later, Thebes was free and strong. At a bound she had become the foremost state in Greece.

The particulars of the rise and greatness of Thebes are recounted at length in the Histories of Greece, and in the great story of Greek freedom there are few more moving pages. Here a few sentences must suffice.

After the close of the Peloponnesian War, the relations between Thebes and Athens had become more friendly. There were two reasons for this. First, there had been in the course of the war a salutary letting of bad blood on both sides; and the great activity which Thebes had shown, not only during the Peloponnesian War but during the previous period of fifty years, was now to be turned in a different direction. Secondly, the democratic party at Thebes had lately come to the front, and this meant a drawing nearer to Athens, and a growing alienation from Sparta. Perceiving this and fearing for their position, the oligarchical party encouraged the Spartans, their supporters, to seize the Cadmeia—the Theban citadel—by treachery and violence. This was done. The citadel was seized and held, and the people were terrified into submission.

The bolder spirits of the popular party resolved to liberate their native city, and to carry out their plan from Athens, where they had taken refuge. With some Athenian help they slew the tyrants, and captured the Cadmeia. Their chief leader was Pelopidas, since Epaminondas was restrained by scruples from sharing in a deed in which innocent blood of fellow-citizens might inadvertently be shed.

But Epaminondas' opportunity for serving his country was now to come. As we have already said, he had not merely been carefully trained himself, but he had for long been training and inspiring others. He was at the head of what Ernst Curtius has aptly termed the 'Young Boeotian' party, composed of young patriots eager for the freedom and greatness of their country¹. In the stirring events which ensued a leading part was borne by the

¹ "Die jungböotische Partei" (Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.*, iii. 253).

'followers of Epaminondas,' as Plutarch calls them¹. It was from this source that new blood would flow into the *ἱερὸς λόχος*, or *Sacred Band*, which was probably re-organised rather than created by Epaminondas². In its new form, the Sacred Band was a picked body of 300 men, bound together by close ties of comradeship, and animated by a keen sense of personal honour (of *chivalry*, we might almost say) and of patriotism. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B. C.) was won by the superb tactics of Epaminondas, and by the charge, at a critical moment, of the Sacred Band led by Pelopidas. At Leuctra the Spartans, so long accounted invincible, were for the first time in their history defeated in a great battle by an inferior force. Thebes was now the first military state in Greece, and deliberate choice could have found for the young Philip of Macedon no fitter school, alike of war and culture, than that which accident threw in the way of a man whose ambitions were to affect so profoundly the future of mankind³.

Epaminondas is by common consent a great general. By common consent he is also a great statesman. His greatness in both capacities may be estimated from a consideration of the difficulties which he met and to a wonderful extent surmounted. In Thebes itself there was a hostile party which was always on the watch for a chance of overthrowing him. Further, the other towns of Boeotia were a hindrance rather than a help; they were often ranged against him. In writing this chapter it would have been very pleasant and more effective from a literary point of view, had it but been true, to write *Boeotia* instead of *Thebes*. That this is not possible was not the fault of Epaminondas, whose constant desire it was to be at once a Boeotian and a Theban, uniting the whole of Boeotia under Theban headship.

¹ Plut., *Pelop.*, xii.

² Moritz Müller (*Gesch. Theb.*, pp. 14, 15) connects the Sacred Band with certain provisions of the early Theban legislators—of Philolaus (the Corinthian) possibly.

³ *Epaminondas as General*. The tactics of Epaminondas at Leuctra have been described by a historian who has made a special study of military matters. "Epaminondas had determined to try a new system—modern military authors would call it the attack *en échelon*—which he had himself devised." Oman, *History of Greece*, p. 465. See the whole passage, and also Adolf Bauer (*Die griechischen Kriegsaltertümer*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* iv. p. 411): "Epameinondas darf als der grösste Taktiker der Griechen bezeichnet werden.....er ist als Stratege nicht minder hervorragend wie als Taktiker."

An additional difficulty in the path of Epaminondas was that he had to face complications in Northern Greece and local feuds among his allies in the south. Worse than all, revived jealousy on the part of Athens cut off all hope of a union between the two neighbour-states which might have been fruitful of good for Greece. For this failure Epaminondas was not responsible, inasmuch as, with the possible exception of his maritime ambitions, he strove sedulously to maintain good relations with Athens. Nor could it any longer with truth be said that the new spirit at Thebes was inferior to that of Athens in her best days, and that this inferiority was a bar to union. Epaminondas expressed, metaphorically, his own aim in his well-known aspiration to have the Athenian Propylaea planted at the entrance to the Cadmeia¹. In short, as far as his own influence extended, he endeavoured to lead the Thebans to live up to the Periclean ideal of artistic and intellectual tastes indulged without extravagance or effeminacy².

Epaminondas was a nationalist leader whom we can all admire. He could obey as well as command: he ruled himself: he respected the laws: he told the unpopular truth. Sick of the dissensions which were the ruin of Boeotia, he aimed at uniting Boeotia herself first of all, and after that he seems to have cherished the widest Panhellenic aspirations. His desire was to bring out the best native characteristics in a wider sphere instead of pursuing a policy of narrow isolation,—to combine a local with a broader patriotism. United Boeotia as a free leader among free Greek peoples: that would seem to have been his aim. His statesmanship is not to be estimated simply by the vulgar standards of success. He died before he had given full effect to his ideas, but he died in the prime of manhood, and it is hard to say what Thebes might not still have done had he not been cut down at Mantinea, with his friend Pelopidas dead two years before and his two most likely successors fallen on the field of battle³.

¹ *Æschines περὶ παραπρεσβείας* § 111: 'Επαμινώνδας, οὐχ ὑποπτήξας τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα, εἶπε διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως προπύλαια μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Καδμείας. There is reason to think that the words as used by Epaminondas himself were a metaphorical aspiration, not a literal threat.

² φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἀνευ μαλακίας (*Thucyd.* ii. 40).

³ *Epaminondas as Statesman*. The policy of Epaminondas, in and beyond

Some of the anecdotes which Plutarch tells of Epaminondas show at once the simplicity and the greatness of the man. Three years after his signal triumph at Leuctra he might be found serving as a common soldier in the ranks, and coming forward at the request of his commanders to rescue the army from a position of great danger. On another occasion he discharged the duties of a petty civic office with so much distinction that he made it honourable for ever afterwards. His love for his parents was

Boeotia, has been variously estimated. Holm, whose judgment is usually admirable, seems disposed to press points rather hardly against him. Cp. his *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 108, and also iii. 142 ("Denn wenn er Orchomenos.....gutgeheissen"). There are several assumptions here made to the detriment of Epaminondas, and several considerations left unnoticed which might be advanced in his favour.—The central point in Epaminondas' policy seems to have been the desire for *Union*. We see him pursuing this object in Southern Greece; and the same design marks at any rate his earlier relations to Attica. Boeotia he wished to convert into a united whole; but he did not greatly care, we take it, whether the common name was to be *Θηβαῖοι* or *Βοιωτοί*, if only there were *some* common name, corresponding in practical effect, if not in actual form, to *Ἀθηναῖοι* in Attica. (Cp. the dropping of the initials of Thebes from the federal coinage at this period, and the words *μεταγράφειν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων Βοιωτοῖς* in Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3, 19. Compare, at a later time, Demosthenes' phrase *Βοιωτοὶ οἱ ἐν Θήβαις*, and Æschines' carping criticism of it in c. *Ctes.* 142.) It has sometimes been maintained that Epaminondas wished to proceed on the Athenian plan (Wilamowitz, and Busolt), or on the Spartan plan (Freeman); but the evidence is, in truth, not explicit enough to enable us to come to any safe conclusion, and such analogies are apt to mislead by involving the assumption that Epaminondas had made up his mind to break with all federal forms.—The like uncertainty prevails when we leave the question as to the *form* in which Epaminondas would have compassed his design, and inquire how far he was prepared to use *force* for the purpose. We can only lament that Thebes, in the Persian Wars, had missed her chance of securing the best kind of union. Had she then headed the Boeotian towns in resistance to the Mede, union might have followed victory, Plataea (the Alsace-Lorraine of those times) might have returned to her allegiance, and the whole future history of Boeotia have been different.—Modern analogies are (especially where the scale is so disproportionate) even more treacherous than ancient ones, but we cannot help suggesting that unpopular Prussia (=Thebes) did well, through many years, to make herself omnipotent in Germany (=Boeotia), in order to render possible firm union with the Southern States (=Thespieae, Tanagra, etc.) which inclined towards Athens (=Austria). How far Prussia would have been justified in making actual use of the superior force she had been acquiring is a nice question of political ethics on which different persons may well hold different views. But as a question of policy, it was evidently much better to possess the power without using or threatening to use it. And in the case of Epaminondas the evidence, as far as we have any, goes to show that he preferred to proceed by peaceable means.

also a marked feature in his character. He counted it his crowning happiness that they should have lived to hear of his victory at Leuctra. A favourite saying of his was that death in battle was the height of glory. He met with the end he coveted¹.

The military genius of Epaminondas, his statesmanship, his wide and liberal culture, his purity of life, his lofty self-respect, his majestic self-control, his proud humility, his honourable poverty, his absolute veracity, his integrity, his freedom from jealousy and vindictiveness; all these form a combination rare anywhere, but less rare among the great men of Rome than among those of Greece, and we can imagine that the high-sounding name of Epameinôndas fell upon the ears of a Cato or a Cicero with all that *gravitas*, or *weight*, which attached to such names as Coriolanus and Cincinnatus. In fact we know that Cicero, notwithstanding the absence of any adequate literary portrayal of him, is able to discern in Epaminondas 'the foremost man of Greece.' The opinion of a Roman upon a question of character, and of a Cicero upon a question of culture, is worth having. And culture, let it be remembered, was to Cicero *humanitas* as to the Greeks it was *παιδεία*. Both the Latin and the Greek word repudiate, by their very etymology, that suggestion of exclusiveness which is sometimes, and not without reason, thought to disfigure the modern term *culture*².

¹ Plut., *An Seni sit gerenda Resp.*, xxvii. Diod. Sic. xv. 71. Pausan. ix. 15.—Plut., *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, xv. Valer. Max., *Fact. Dict. Mem.*, iii. 7, 5.—Plut., *Reg. et Imperat. Apophth.* 193. id., *An Seni etc.*, 786 v. id., *Non posse suaviter Vivi sec. Epicurum* 1098 s. No wonder that Plutarch, with his own strong domestic affections, tells this last story three times over.—Plut., *Reg. et Imperat. Apophth.* 192.

² Plut., *Catonis Maioris Vita*, viii., οὐδένα δὲ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζομένων βασιλέων ἄξιον εἶναι παραβάλλειν πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Μάνιον Κούριον ἢ Ἀμίλκαν τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βάρκαν. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 2, 4: Summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus: igitur et Epaminondas, princeps meo iudicio Graeciae, fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur, Themistoclesque aliquot ante annis, cum in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctior. Cic., *de Orat.* iii. 34, 139: alisne igitur artibus hunc Dionem instituit Plato, aliis Isocrates clarissimum virum Timotheum.....? aut aliis Pythagoreus ille Lysis Thebanum Epaminondam, haud scio an summum virum unum omnis Graeciae?—There is an interesting reference to Epaminondas' poverty in Epictetus, *Fragm.*, xliv. He was free from the easily besetting sin of the Greeks, that pecuniary dishonesty which is apt to attend the lust of gain.—With regard to the verbal point, perhaps it is to be regretted that *Culture* (in the sense of *Bildung*) has been introduced into the English language at all, when the word *Education* (*Erziehung*) might have been enlarged and

- Cicero's words 'princeps meo iudicio Graeciae,' and (in another passage) 'haud scio an summus vir unus omnis Graeciae,' remind us of those Latin lines on the title-page which are provided as an antidote for the malice of the Greek proverb. Juvenal (x. 49, 50) is speaking of Democritus and Abdera¹; but his lines apply with still greater force to Epaminondas and Boeotia. Epaminondas is the proof of proofs that under a foggy sky (Horace notwithstanding), and in the native land of wethers (or of pigs), there may be born men of the highest eminence. And men too who will be great examples for posterity ('magna exempla daturi'), since we have Plutarch's authority for saying that Epaminondas was the model upon which at a later date three such remarkable leaders as Timoleon (the old-world Garibaldi of Sicily), Aratus (the general of the Achaean League), and Philopoemen (the 'last of the Greeks') strove to fashion themselves*.

One of the most brilliant and many-sided of Elizabethan Englishmen, Sir Walter Raleigh, agrees with the Roman verdict as to the supreme greatness of Epaminondas. "So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that nation of Greece, and hardly to be matched in any age or country; for he equalled all others in the several virtues, which in each of them were singular. His justice and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom and high magnanimity, were no way inferior to his military virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled that he could not properly be called a wary, a valiant, a politic, a bountiful, or an industrious, and a provident captain. Neither was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts which gave him praise abroad. For he was grave, and yet very affable and courteous; resolute in public business, but in his own particular easy and of much mildness; a lover of his people, bearing with men's infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and ennoble by the inclusion of all imaginable training of mind and heart, at whatever period of life and by whatever means imparted.

¹ Abdera was to ancient Greece what Aberdaron is to modern Wales.

² Plut., *Timoleon's Vita*, xxxvi.; *Arati Vita*, xix.; *Philopoemenis Vita*, iii. (cp. Pausan. viii. 49.—For Philopoemen's Roman title of "the last of the Greeks," see Plut., *Phil. Vita*, i., and *Arati Vita*, xxiv.).—For Timoleon and Garibaldi, see *Ad. Holm, Gesch. Sic. im Alt.*, ii. 217.

keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, much eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy and learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of contemplation, but broke forth into such effects as gave unto Thebes, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in Greece¹." Truly it was "a dreadful reputation," and not least in Sparta, where the women had not for generations nor for centuries seen the smoke of an enemy's camp-fire.

As to the Thebans themselves during the period of the greatness of their city it may be said that upon the whole they made excellent *followers*. Ephorus has told us about them as a people that they were distinguished by the attention they paid to physical exercise and to military prowess². Indeed, one main complaint against them was that they thought too much of these things. Their bravery was proved at Plataea, Delium, Leuctra. It was to be proved again at Chaeroneia, when the Thebans, having been won over by the appeals of Demosthenes, who reminded them of Epaminondas as he reminded the Athenians of Pericles, shared in that great struggle for the maintenance of Greek liberty. The stand then made by Theagenes and the Sacred Band was worthy of Epaminondas, and what more can be said? Not less gallant was the attempt of the Thebans to throw off the Macedonian yoke (335 B.C.), and not less intrepid the resistance they then offered to the incensed Alexander. Such bright chapters in their later history go far to redeem their errors during the time of the

¹ *Historie of the World* (Third Book of the First Part. Chapter xii. § 8. Page 153. Edition, 1614. Modern spelling). How far is the estimate based, directly or indirectly, on Diod. Sic. xv. 88? ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰ τις συγκρίναι τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς τῇ Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίᾳ τε καὶ δόξῃ, πολλὸν ἂν προέχουσιν εὖροι τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἀρετὴν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν ἂν εὖροι προτέρημα τῆς δόξης, παρὰ δὲ τούτῳ πᾶσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἡθροισμένας. καὶ γὰρ βῶμης σώματος καὶ λόγου δεινότητι, πρὸς δὲ τοίτοις ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι καὶ μισαργυρίᾳ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀνδρεία καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει πολλὸν διήνεγκε πάντων.

² *Boeotian and Theban Qualities*. C. and T. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, i., 234: Ἐφωρος δὲ φησιν οὐκ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν, Θετταλοὶ περὶ τὴν ἱππικὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, Βοιωτοὶ περὶ τὴν τῆς γυμνασίας ἐπιμέλειαν, Κυρηναῖοι δὲ περὶ τὴν διφρεντικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἡσχόληνται. Diod. Sic. xii. 70 (where the reference is to the battle of Delium): οἱ δὲ Θεβαῖοι, διαφέροντες ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων βώμας, ἐπέστρεψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δωγμοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Diod. Sic. xv. 26: τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ πλήθει τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ

Persian Wars. They stood aside then, but now they bore the brunt; and the blow was heavy¹.

ἀνδρείῳ κατὰ πόλεμον οὐδενὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰδῶκει λείπεσθαι.—With respect to individuals, it must not, of course, be thought that Epaminondas, though he was by far the greatest, was the only man of mark produced by Thebes in the day of her power. Besides Pelopidas there were Ismenias, Gorgidas and Pammenes, not to speak of the two generals (Iolaidas and Daiphantus) to whom Epaminondas looked as his successors. And we should undoubtedly have heard of other minor leaders at other periods had the works of any Boeotian historian been extant. Leaders of the supreme rank of Epaminondas are rare at all times and in all countries.—The reference with regard to the appeals of Demosthenes is Plut., *Demosthenis Vita*, xx.

¹ *Greece, and Thebes, after Epaminondas.* The confusion in Greece, the utter unsettlement of the balance of power, which followed the death of Epaminondas, has been vividly indicated by Xenophon in the concluding passage of the *Hellenica*. Ad. Holm, who (as readers of his *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum* will remember) is fond of historical parallels, compares the effect of the death of Epaminondas at Mantinea to that of the death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen (*Gr. Gesch.* iii. 140, 1).—Though, as has been indicated in the text, some of the spirit which made the Thebans such excellent followers still survived, Theban greatness was of course at an end. The words of Ephorus (p. 12 supra) will be recalled. Similarly Demades, the orator, said: τῷ γὰρ Ἐπαμινώνδου σώματι συνέθαψε τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Θηβαίων ὁ καιρὸς (Dem., ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας, 180). And Polybius: ὅτι γὰρ οὐχ ἡ τῆς πολιτείας σύστασις αἰτία τότε ἐγένετο Θηβαίοις τῶν εὐτυχημάτων, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν προσεστώτων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετή, παρὰ πόδας ἡ τύχη τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἐποίησε δῆλον. καὶ γὰρ συνηξήθη καὶ συνήκμασε καὶ συγκατελύθη τὰ Θηβαίων ἔργα τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδου καὶ τοῦ Πελοπίδου βίῳ προφανῶς (Polyb. vi. 43). And Diodorus: ἐπεὶ δὲ.....συναπέθανεν (xv. 79), and τοιγαροῦν.....ἔλαβε πείραν (xv. 88). In truth, the flowering-time of Thebes had come too late, for the summer of Greece was almost over. The Theban decline must be regarded as part of a general Greek decline.—In the time of Strabo, Thebes was already one of the numerous Boeotian towns of which only names and ruins survived. (Strabo, Didot edition, p. 352.)—In the Peloponnese the remains of the fortifications of Messene still attest the might of Epaminondas; and the recent excavations at Megalopolis have disclosed impressive memorials of what is supposed to be his influence in the *Thersilion*, or Parliament House of the Ten Thousand Arcadians, and in the much discussed Theatre. [JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES, *Excavations at Megalopolis*, 1890—91 (published 1893), E. A. Gardner, W. Loring, G. C. Richards, W. J. Woodhouse, and R. W. Schultz.] For Epaminondas' schemes of Arcadian confederation see Grote, *History of Greece*, ix. 433 ff., and cp. (at a later time) Demosthenes' speech ὑπὲρ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν.

CHAPTER V.

THE BOEOTIANS AS THE DUTCHMEN OF GREECE.

"Tune es, tune" ait "ille Martialis,
cuius nequitas iocosque novit,
aurem qui modo non habet Batavam?"

Mart. *Epigr.* vi. lxxxii. 4—6.

Batavam *codd.* (hēbatavā ꝑ habebat anas *corr.* habet batavas Q habebat avamam P habebat avam F) *Schn¹ Gilbert³ p. 520 severam CO Rand v. Q Schn² (L. Mueller r. m. p. 247) Boeotam Ruhnken.*

Batāvam. Batāva viii. 33, 20 Batāvi xiv. 176, 1. Ruhnken (patriotische) Conjektur Boeotam ist auch prosodisch schwerlich zulässig. L. Mueller r. m. p. 247 s. L. Friedlaender.

THE Boeotians have sometimes been called in derision the *Dutchmen* of Greece. The comparison, however unkindly meant, may be regarded as conveying praise rather than reproach.

Few braver blows for liberty have anywhere been struck than in the land of the Dutchmen, and in this respect William the Silent as a leader resembles Epaminondas no less than in the taciturnity common to them both¹.

¹ *Epaminondas and William the Silent.* It was said, by one who knew Epaminondas well, that he had never met anyone who understood more and said less [Plut., *De Gen. Socr.*, xxxiii. It is apparently of this passage of Plutarch that Ben Jonson was thinking when, by a curious anachronism, he mentions the name of Pindar. "Epaminondas is celebrated by Pindar to be a man, that, though he knew much, yet he spoke but little." Ben Jonson, *Discoveries* (vol. iii. p. 394 of Gifford's edition of Ben Jonson's *Works*, as issued by Chatto and Windus)]. William earned his surname from the manner in which he listened to the outrageous design communicated to him by Henry II. of France (Motley, *Dutch Republic*, Pt. ii. c. i. p. 122). Both could, of course, use speech to good purpose when required; they simply possessed a gift similar to that of the modern strategist who

In the *Adages* of Erasmus there will be found a passage in which that illustrious Dutchman (who died a few years after William was born) meets the reproach of *rusticitas* which he discerns in the expression *auris Batava* quoted above from Martial. Among other things, he claims for his countrymen that they are simple and straightforward in character, and averse to deceit and pretence. Their chief defect is a somewhat excessive devotion to pleasure, especially the pleasures of the table. This feeling is attributable to the abundance of things which provoke it, and the abundance itself is due on the one hand to the ease of importation by the Rhine and the Maas, and on the other hand to the fertility of the soil, which is watered by rivers (themselves full of fish) and abounds in rich pasture-lands. Birds, too, are found in vast numbers on land and water¹.

Parallels between Holland and Boeotia in the above description will readily suggest themselves: for instance, the fertile soil, and the abundance of fish and of fowl². And while the physical

was 'silent in seven languages.' Many other features in the character of Epaminondas and William will be found to correspond. And as to their careers, it is worth noting that both were cut off prematurely, when neither indeed was young, but when they both had much work ready to their hand and time to do it in. The approximate date of the birth of Epaminondas was 418 B.C., of his death 362 B.C. William was born in 1533 A.D. and died in 1584. The name of William's assassin, Gérard, is well known. There were several claimants to the distinction of slaying Epaminondas in battle, one of whom seems to have been Gryllus the son of Xenophon (Pausan. viii. 11, 4; ix. 15, 3: cp. i. 3, 3; viii. 9, 5).—Of course William the Silent was of German origin, coming from the Duchy of Nassau.

¹ *Adagg.*, Leyden edition, p. 1083. Erasmus points out, in this passage, that culture may be turned to evil purposes, and that his countrymen may deserve to be congratulated rather than commiserated on their ignorance of Martial and his self-confessed 'wickednesses.' The early Rome which knew no art but those of war and husbandry would compare more than favourably with the highly civilised and polished Rome of Martial.

² Aristoph., *Ach.* 870 ff., *Pax* 1003. As to Boeotian corn, see Theophr., *Hist. Plant.*, viii. 4, 5, and the following remarks of Dr B. V. Head: "Of all the cities in Boeotia Orchomenus is the only one of which the coinage does not, in early times, bear the shield, the type of all the contemporary federal money of the other allied cities, but its own peculiar and distinct type, the grain of corn, referring, as a religious symbol, to the extraordinary productiveness of the Orchomenian plain, the fertility of which even in our own days is so remarkable that Leake was able to count as many as 900 grains in a single ear of corn. The stem of this plant is very strong and large, and when plastered with mud forms the most common material of the present cottages near the Cephissic marshes.—Leake, *N. Greece*, p. 158."

features of the two countries are in question, it may perhaps be added that the struggle against water, in the case of the embankments of Holland, and of the drainage of Lake Copais in Boeotia, evoked the energies of both peoples at different periods¹. On the other hand, the Boeotians never made use of the sea, favourably situated though they were, to the same extent as the Dutchmen. They never became an active commercial people, as they might well have done, had poverty of soil, or an increasing population, driven them to bestir themselves in this way. In them, as in the Dutchmen, there lay latent an ample fund of energy, waiting only to be called out.

The allied question how far Boeotian, and Dutch, wits were affected by a heavy atmosphere, we cannot pretend to discuss; we will only recall the view of Strabo that in all these things there is a good deal in habit—in the force that is put on nature, the bent that is given to it (οὐ γὰρ φύσει Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν φιλόλογοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οὐ, καὶ οἱ ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔθει, Strabo ii. 3).

At any rate, the mists of Holland have not prevented that country from producing *philologists* (if we may thus represent Strabo's φιλόλογοι) of great repute. Erasmus, in the passage just referred to, states that while men of moderate learning were as numerous in Holland as in any part of the world, there was a comparative dearth of finished scholarship (especially in the ancient tongues), a dearth which he thinks may be caused either by the luxury of the day or by the fact that among the Hollanders eminence in moral character was more highly esteemed than

(*Numism. Chron.*, Third Series, vol. i. p. 194.)—For the poverty of its soil as an *advantage* to Attica, see Thucyd. i. 2.

¹ The dykes and dams connected with Lake Copais were, strictly speaking, pre-Boeotian; they were the work of a sea-faring race—those Minyae who have of late years, in striking confirmation of Otfried Müller's brilliant speculations, passed from the region of legend into that of historical fact. Cp. Ernst Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (1894), Bd. i. pp. 266—280 ('Die Deichbauten der Minyer. Mit einer Karte'), and Heinrich Schliemann, *Orchomenus* (Leipzig, 1881). See also Grote i. pp. 130—132. The French engineers, who have in our time been entrusted with the task of draining the Lake, have laid bare earthworks and canals which only a great and powerful state can have constructed.—It may be added that Thebes and the Sphinx, Orchomenus and the Minyae, remind us continually of that Oriental background to Greek civilisation which is every day coming into fuller relief.

eminence in learning. Though it might be said by Erasmus that Holland was wanting in examples of "exquisita eruditio," the same thing could not be said by any one who came after him; and the editor of the Leyden edition of his works, Le Clerc of Geneva, is able to couple the name of Hugo Grotius with that of Erasmus himself. And we may add lesser names, but still names of great mark, all taken from among the number of those Hellenists who have taught at that University of Leyden which was founded, it should always be borne in mind, by the fiat of no King or Pope but by the States of Holland, in 1575 A.D., in commemoration of the heroism with which the town had been defended by its citizens against the Spaniards. On that occasion, as on many others in which they fought their glorious battles for liberty of life and conscience, the Dutchmen justified their national motto: *Luctor et emergo*. They rose above the engulfing waves. Nothing could withstand a country the watchword of whose indomitable patriots was: *Liever bedorven dan verloren land*, "Better a drowned land than a lost land." (Motley, *Dutch Republic*, pt. iv. c. ii.)¹

The names which occur are those of Heinsius, Vossius, and Gronovius (in each of which cases learning was transmitted from father to son); of Hemsterhuys, and his pupils Valckenaer and Ruhnken; of Wyttenbach, the editor of the Boeotian Plutarch; and of Cobet. These were not all born in Holland, though they all taught there; and it was probably with the over-zealous patriotism of an adopted

¹ The reference in the Dutch words is, of course, to the flooding of the country by opening the sluices and cutting the dykes.—This deliverance notwithstanding, the University of Leyden was established at a dark hour in the country's history; and in this respect it resembles the great University of Berlin, which was founded early in the present century. The history of both Universities shows what an impulse to learning deeply-stirred patriotic feeling can give. In Holland the needful appliances soon followed, for in no country were the great printing-houses so active, and in none were better mathematical and astronomical instruments produced.—In Wales we have now a University of our own, the foundation of which has been long and unwisely delayed, as will be allowed by all who take the trouble to remember for how many centuries the four Universities of Scotland have been in existence (St Andrews, 1411 A.D.; Glasgow, 1453 A.D.; Aberdeen, 1494 A.D.; Edinburgh, 1582 A.D.) One can only hope that, in the future, much of the patriotism of Wales may, through its Colleges and its University, find its own expression, and at the same time realise more fully that it is part of the wider patriotism of England and the world.

citizen that Ruhnken would, in the passage from Martial, have changed *aurem...Batavam* into *aurem...Boeotam*, "Netherlandish ear" into "Boeotian ear." But Ruhnken suffered for his pains. It would have been well had he allowed the text to stand, simply remarking that the Roman slander of the Dutchman had its earlier analogue in the Athenian slander of the Boeotian. But unmoved by sympathy, and bent on proving, what unhappily needs no proof, that the world of the scholar is no better than the world at large, he must needs foist on Martial the anti-Boeotian proverb; and by a just retribution he but narrowly escapes being himself accredited, by a recent editor, with a "Netherlandish ear" for the laws of metre.

It should be mentioned here that, in addition to *Βοιωρία ὄς*, the proverbs *Βοιώτιον οὖς* and *Βοιώτιος νοῦς* are also found; and that the former was popularly explained by the story of a poet who, when reading his *Thebaid* to a Boeotian audience, missed the applause he craved, and shutting his book petulantly exclaimed, "With good reason are ye called *Βοιωτοί*, for ye have oxen's ears (*βοῶν γὰρ ὦτα ἔχετε*)¹." It must be added that any insinuation that the Boeotians had no ear for music and poetry would be as true of them as it would be of the modern Dutchman, that is to say, it would not be true at all².

It may be fanciful to have carried thus far the comparison between Holland and Boeotia, but if one observation more may be hazarded, let it be by way of calling attention to the *realism* which is common to both. If we regard Myron as half a Boeotian by birth, it is open to us to point out that his *Bucula* was as famous

¹ *Additional Proverbs.* Leutsch u. Schneidewin, i. 223, ii. 18; i. 357, ii. 105, ii. 333. 'Ἀνταγώρας γὰρ ἀναγινώσκων παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς τὸ τῆς Θηβαΐδος γράμμα, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπεσημαίνετο, κλείσας τὸ βιβλίον, εἰκότως ἔφη, καλεῖσθε Βοιωτοί· βοῶν γὰρ ὦτα ἔχετε. (ii. 333.)

² *Music and Poetry.* What has been said in chapter iii. will have shown the falsehood of the charge in the case of the Boeotians; the dwellers around Mount Helicon were not, we must believe, deaf to the charms of music and poetry. ('Grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto.' Pers. v. 7.) One does not readily connect poetry with Holland; but it will be remembered that to the Dutch poet Vondel Milton is sometimes supposed to owe a little. And as to music, a very competent authority, Dr Joachim, has said of the modern Dutchman: "I have found that the Dutch are exceptionally musical. They have branches of a large and well-organised musical society in almost every town, and consequently their taste is far better educated than that of many other nations."

in antiquity as Paul Potter's *Bull* in modern days¹. Myron was fond of *genre* subjects, and this tendency of Boeotian art is prominently revealed in Aristeides and in the Tanagra statuettes, while *genre* painting is of course a principal feature of the Dutch School².

The subject suggests a parallel between a famous Boeotian and a famous Dutchman, both of whom have been frequently mentioned already, Plutarch and Erasmus. Carlyle has somewhere, in his striking fashion, called Edward Gibbon 'the splendid bridge from the ancient to the modern world.' The description might, in a slightly different sense, be applied to both Plutarch and Erasmus, even though the narrow votaries of style should question, in Plutarch's case, the splendour of the structure. It is the profound humanity of both writers, yet more than their learning or their skill, that has enabled them to create a living interest in antiquity, and to convince the slow of understanding that the world, past and present, is close akin. About his own life Plutarch tells us little, much as he has written of the lives of others. But from his own pages we know how kindly he was to all, how full of patriotic feeling, and how deeply devoted to those of his own household³. Erasmus had no domestic circle, in youth or age, but he won for himself the warm attachment of a large band of friends, as well he might with his serene and genial nature as disclosed in his self-revealing *Letters*, with his love

¹ *Bucula*. Cic., *Verr.*, ii. 4. 60, § 135.

² *Genre Painting in Antiquity*. Gebhart's general conclusion as to *genre* painting in antiquity is: "La peinture de genre, dans l'antiquité, en Grèce et à Rome, où travaillent des artistes grecs, fut idéaliste. Elle fut idéaliste parce qu'elle reproduisit, non la nature réelle, mais une interprétation de la nature. Elle donna ses personnages d'une grâce ou d'une laideur que ses modèles vivants ne possédaient pas tout entière" (Émile Gebhart, *Essai sur la Peinture de Genre dans l'Antiquité*, p. 61). But there seems ground, as seen above, for supposing that the pictures of Aristeides showed a good deal of realism in subject and in treatment. And of course the terms realism and idealism are purely relative. All truly great artists, at any rate, are both realists and idealists.—Examples of *genre* work in the statuettes of Tanagra are such subjects as: children at their games, or playing with their favourite animals—spinning a top, or sitting astride a goose or a ram; women busy with their baking or their toilet; a barber trimming his customer's hair, or a hawker vending his wares, etc.

³ A model household seems to have become traditional in the family of Plutarch: *op. Marc. Aurel.* i. 9, Παρὰ Σέξτου, τὸ εὐμερές· καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρονομουμένου. Sextus of Chaeroneia, here referred to, was probably a grandson of Plutarch.

of harmless comforts and of peace and quietness, with his hatred of shams and affectations and pedantry. It was in the old tower at Queens', as Cambridge men like to remember, that preparations were made, during the year 1512 especially, for that edition of the Greek Testament (the first to be printed and published) which was to issue four years later from Froben's press at Basle. No better example of the all-embracing love for his fellow-men which lightened for Erasmus his superhuman toil during precarious health could be found than in the 'Paraclesis,' or exhortation to the reader, which he prefixes to that work: "I could wish that frail women everywhere might read the Gospels, might read the Epistles of St Paul. I would that they were translated into every language throughout the world, to the end that they might be read and understood not only by Scotsmen and Irishmen but also by Turks and Saracens... I would that the husbandman might sing their strains at the tail of his plough, that the weaver might hum them at the loom, that the wayfarer might beguile a weary journey with the tales that the Gospels tell¹."

It has been said that, at the Revival of Learning, 'Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand.' To that joint re-awakening no single man contributed more than the Scholar of Rotterdam, and his power and influence were in no small measure due to the breadth of sympathy which made him write: *Fortasse latius se fundit spiritus Christi quam nos interpretamur, et multi sunt in consortio sanctorum, qui non sunt apud nos in catalogo*².

¹ The passage, more fully quoted, is: "Vehementer enim ab istis dissentio, qui nolint ab idiotis legi divinas Literas in vulgi linguam transfusas, sive quasi Christus tam involuta docuerit, ut vix a pauculis Theologis possint intelligi, sive quasi religionis Christianae praesidium in hoc situm sit, si nesciatur. Regum mysteria celare fortasse satius est. At Christus sua mysteria quam maxime cupit evulgari. Optarim ut omnes mulierculae legant Euangelium, legant Paulinas Epistolas. Atque utinam haec in omnes omnium linguas essent transfusa, ut non solum a Scotis et Hibernis, sed a Turcis quoque et Saracenis legi cognoscique possint. Primus certe gradus est, utcunque cognoscere. Esto, riderent multi, at caperentur aliquot. Utinam hinc ad stivam aliquid decantet agricola, hinc nonnihil ad radios suos moduletur textor, hujusmodi fabulis itineris taedium levet viator. Ex his sint omnia Christianorum omnium colloquia. Tales enim ferme sumus, quales sunt quotidianae nostrae confabulationes."

² *Erasmus on Plutarch.* Erasmus has frequently expressed his admiring sense of the Christian spirit which pervades the writings of Plutarch, notwithstanding the

But in transmitting the whole spirit of non-Christian antiquity to modern times service no less noble was done, centuries earlier, by the Sage of Chaeroneia, who caught that flickering flame, and has kept it for ever alive on the Vestal altar of his works. The light in which Plutarch represents Caesar's assassination is deeply significant; and it is noteworthy that in *Julius Caesar*, as well as in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare follows him with a fidelity which he is far from observing in dealing with the sources of his plays generally. Shakespeare knew Plutarch through Sir Thomas North; and it is convincing testimony to the wide human interest of the works of the great Boeotian that the translations of the *Lives* by Sir Thomas North and of the *Morals* by Philemon Holland are landmarks in the English language of hardly inferior value to Amyot's version of the *Lives* in French.

The influence of Plutarch has at no time been confined to merely literary circles—to the Montaignes, the Rousseaus, and the Emersons. His works have given to many a man of action a far truer appreciation of the motive forces of antiquity than has been attained by scholars and writers. Standing on the broad platform of humanity, Plutarch appeals, though himself an apostle of the gentler virtues, not only to the men of peace and leisured lives, but to the great military leaders, the kingly men, who with no less love of peace than his are summoned to the field of war, there to inspire their followers with that enthusiastic faith which in battle overwhelms all obstacles. One example only, and that the latest, will suffice. If we seek for the Ancient Hero come back to life in our modern age, the mind turns naturally to Egypt,

fact that the new faith had apparently no direct influence on him. The first of the following passages is, like that quoted in the text, taken from the *Colloquia Familiaria*: (a) Hic codex habet aliquot Plutarchi libellos de moribus, sed selectos, et a quodam Graecae literaturae peritissimo non inseite descriptos; in quibus tantum reperio sanctimoniae, ut mihi prodigio simile videatur, in pectus hominis ethnici tam Euangelicas potuisse cogitationes. *Erasmii Opera Cura Clerici*, i. 688 B. (The reference, in the case of the passage quoted in the text, is i. 682 A. of the same—the Leyden—edition.) (b) Nullus enim exstitit inter Graecos scriptores Plutarcho, praesertim quod ad mores attinet, sanctior aut lectu dignior (*ib.* iv. 87). (c) Sed de moribus nemo feliciter scripsit quam Plutarchus, cujus libelli digni sunt qui ad verbum ediscantur, e quibus Basilii et Chrysostomus multa videntur hausisse. *ib.* v. 856 E.

still as of old the land of mysterious doom, and to a distant fort held stoutly by a man whose life was simple, whose devotion to duty was unfaltering, whose pursuit of honour rather than of honours was proved not in word only but by every deed of his life. At Khartoum, during the siege, Charles Gordon wrote in his diary: "Certainly I would make Plutarch's *Lives* a handbook for our young officers; it is worth any number of 'Arts of War' or 'Minor Tactics'." The words are written with the unpretending plainness which marked the man, but they are, to apply Pindar's phrase once more, *eloquent to the understanding ear*².

¹ 'Journals of Major-Gen. Gordon at Khartoum,' p. 64. In other entries General Gordon complains that "Plutarch's *Lives* are no longer in vogue"—that the idea of simple duty has lost its once sovereign power.

² It may be added here, with regard to Holland, that England has hardly realised her connexion with, and indebtedness to, that country. In a recent article on the 'History of English Policy' (*Contemporary Review*, July, 1894) Sir J. R. Seeley has pointed to the Dutch Stadtholder, our William III., as the third of those 'international persons' (Queen Elizabeth, Oliver Cromwell, and William) who directed English foreign policy, in its early stages, and linked England to the continent. "Nor will William III. appear the only link between our State and the Dutch Republic. His predecessors in the Stadtholderate, as far back as William the Silent, will appear to us as figures in English history, and we shall recognise the curious parallelism in the development of the two Sea Powers from the time when they stood forth to break the Spanish monopoly of maritime power and colonial possession."

The tone of the nineteenth-century historian is very different from that of the seventeenth-century satirist:—

Holland that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but th' off-scouring of the British sand;
And so much earth as was contributed
By English Pilots when they heav'd the lead;
Or what by th' ocean's slow alluvion fell,
Of shipwreck'd cockle and the muscle-shell;
This indigested vomit of the sea
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.

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How fit a title cloaths their Governors,
Themselves the hogs, as all their subjects boars!

ANDREW MARVELL, *The Character of Holland*.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

THE aim of this investigation has been not to uphold any paradox, but (as stated at the outset) simply to bring together some of the hard things which have been said of the Boeotians, and to advance certain considerations which may be urged in modification of so harsh an estimate and in favour of a more lenient view.

It will be convenient to begin the following summary of results with what may be called the Attic verdict. As to the nature of this verdict there is no doubt. The proverb *Βιωτία ὄς*, and such words as *ἔβρις*, *πλεονεξία*, and *ἀναισθησία*, suggest the Athenian attitude towards the Boeotians in general and the Thebans in particular. Cratinus, Aristophanes, Menander, and the Comic Poets as a body, fill in the details. Demosthenes sometimes manifests the dislike which his countrymen felt, but at other times a strong sense of public duty keeps him within bounds. Through the Attic writers, as the acknowledged arbiters of the world of letters, a sort of literary tradition unfavourable to the Boeotians seems to have established itself. The effect of this literary tradition is seen in late Greek authors such as Dion Chrysostomus, and in Latin authors like Cicero, Horace, Nepos, and Tertullian. Its existence may possibly be traced in the mediaeval Dante, while it has left its mark on writers in every century of English literature from the sixteenth onward. No one will contend that each of these later authors—Greek, Latin, and English—had been at pains to form an independent opinion on

the matter. They would follow the judgment of the world—the lettered world.

There is, thus, no doubt as to the nature of the Attic verdict, and little doubt as to its subsequent influence in literary circles. It is not less certain that the Athenians were prejudiced witnesses. Demosthenes expressly admits their blinding antipathy, and it is easy to give examples of it and reasons for it. With the Boeotians they were engaged in perpetual hostilities, carrying on a petty border-warfare, and striking blows, wherever possible, at the integrity of the League. The ill-feeling almost inevitable between jealous and powerful neighbours was further intensified by differences in political constitution. Nay more: the contrast in temperament between them was so great that the Athenians, even if unprejudiced otherwise, could with difficulty have brought themselves to form a just estimate of the Boeotians. The Boeotian character will be spoken of more at length presently; but whatever else it was, it will be conceded to have been, on the whole and with the exception of occasional outbursts of passion, of the undemonstrative order. The Athenians, on the contrary, were versatile, mercurial, restless, straining continually after effect, inordinately fond of making an impression. They often show the weak points of the so-called 'artistic temperament' in an aggravated form. They remind one, often, of the literary man on his weak side, as characterised by Sir Walter Scott; he cannot help thinking himself a centre of interest wherever he may be. In many ways Alcibiades is the typical Athenian, ambitious and given to display. This phase of the Athenian character appears to have been colloquially recognised by the later Greeks in the proverb *Ἀττικὸς εἰς λιμένα*, which implied that an Athenian, when nearing harbour, would row with redoubled vigour, in order to gain the admiration and applause of his friends on shore¹. The difference, therefore, in native disposition between the Athenian and the Boeotian would be something similar to that between an emotional Frenchman of to-day and a phlegmatic Dutchman. Military

¹ *Ἀττικὸς εἰς λιμένα*. Leutsch u. Schneidewin, i. 34, ii. 148, ii. 315. Cp. the Irish car-driver, who 'reserved himself for the avenue.'—Some thoughts on the desirability of combining what we may call 'Attic' and 'Boeotian' qualities will be suggested by Plato, *Rep.* vi. 494 and 508, iii. 411.

hostilities and commercial rivalries can do much to prejudice nation against nation—witness England and Holland—but here we have an opposite natural bent to take into account as well. As an illustration of the effect of prejudice, but with no wish to argue from a precarious historical parallel, the reputation of the modern Dutchman has been thought to deserve some slight consideration in a separate chapter. The illustration shows this, if nothing else, that once a people has come to be regarded as a convenient type of dullness and stupidity, any indications of an opposite nature are apt to be overlooked.

If we turn from literature in general to one branch of it—history—in particular, we find that Boeotia has been unfortunate here also, especially as regards the period of which we should gladly have heard most. Herodotus, first of all, treats of the period of the Persian Wars, when the record of Boeotia was not a happy one; he probably shows no bias, but if he had a bias at all, it would, naturally and properly, be in favour of Athens. Thucydides, though an Athenian, would have dealt impartially with Boeotia, and done her justice in her greatness; but in the war which he describes Boeotia played but a secondary part, and the most he can do is to say the best that can be said in defence of the Theban treatment of Plataea. Xenophon, a contemporary Athenian with no prejudice in favour of his own country, seemed born to record in worthy style the great period of Boeotian history. But Xenophon had a strong prejudice of his own; and his admiration of Agesilaus and Sparta made him unjust to Epaminondas and Thebes. For this distortion of Xenophon's narrative, the *History* of Ephorus and the *Epaminondas* of Plutarch would have made some amends, but they are lost.

A surviving fragment of Ephorus is, however, the most valuable of the direct historical judgments as to Boeotian character and culture. Polybius' view must also be received with respect; but there seems ground for supposing that, though probably unaffected by Attic prejudice, Polybius had some reason for being specially sensitive on the question of Boeotian reputation. In any case it must be remembered that his animadversions refer to a late period.

With the modern historians of Greece and with readers generally

the Boeotians have, as a rule, suffered not only from Attic attacks, but also from Attic neighbourhood. This point perhaps deserves a little emphasis and amplification. In antiquity it was the hard lot of the Boeotians to be harassed in war by the Athenians, and beyond that to suffer in reputation through their sharp tongues. But the mischief did not end even there. The Boeotians have been damaged, both in antiquity and with posterity, as much through the mere juxtaposition of Athens as through her biting satire. Athens and Boeotia, or Athens and Thebes, became a fashionable contrast or antithesis, of which we hear a distant echo in Dryden's lines already given. And the contrast cannot be denied. Whatever may be said as to the weak side of the Athenians, they were a brilliant and unmatchable race. But then, why this penalty of comparison, why this Boeotian foil? The answer must simply be, the accident of juxtaposition. This is at once evident if we think of other Grecian states. We should not find it difficult to say something in justification of the proverbs 'Αργεῖα ὕς, or Λακωνικὴ ὕς, or particularly Κορινθία ὕς: but the supposed proverbs do not exist. And yet it must not be supposed that the Boeotians were the only Greek people who to their neighbours appeared to be slow or stupid. The Corinthians in Thucydides, for example, expressly attribute τὸ ἀναίσθητον to the Lacedaemonians¹. Well might the Boeotians have desired what Strepsiades in the *Clouds* dreaded, namely that Sparta and Athens should be close together on the map, for then Sparta rather than Boeotia might have been branded with an evil name².

It should, thus, be remembered that Boeotia had, to her great detriment at the time and in future reputation, restless literary neighbours, who were as brilliant as they were troublesome. The deeds of these neighbours were unfriendly; their words were rancorous; and the standard of comparison which their unrivalled greatness has suggested to later ages is exacting in the extreme. In the modern Histories of Greece the record of Boeotia is, perhaps

¹ Thucyd. i. 69.

² Aristoph., *Nubes*, 215, 216.—For Sparta, cp. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, III. cxc.: "The genius, the political inspiration of Athens, the love of liberty—all that has made Greece famous with posterity, were wanting among the Spartans. They had no Themistocles, or Pericles, or Aeschylus, or Sophocles, or Socrates, or Plato."

unavoidably, presented and read in contrast with that of Attica rather than with that of Argos or any other of the secondary states. The impression created is a very unfair one, and the advantage of a separate inquiry is that it brings the facts together in an independent way. The facts thus viewed may be briefly recapitulated.

Ephorus is no doubt right in suggesting that the Boeotians (or their leaders) needed culture and were improved by it. But at the same time it is clear that there are far more signs of culture, individual and general, in Boeotia than is usually supposed, and than Ephorus (who was not a Boeotian) may have himself been aware.

In literature Boeotia presents names which, taken together, can be surpassed in no other district of Greece, Attica alone excepted. Hesiod and Pindar are great both in themselves and in their influence beyond Boeotian boundaries, while the influence of Plutarch has been universal. The names of the well-known Myrtis and Corinna, and of the obscure Dionysodorus and Anaxis, may suggest the thought that, in Boeotia, literary activity was not confined to one field or to one sex. Inscriptions and excavations also furnish evidence that there was a considerable diffusion of culture, in the benefits of which women shared. It is clear, from this evidence, that there existed in Boeotia a surprising number of shrines and festivals, designed to satisfy religious beliefs and artistic aspirations. The literary and musical contest at Thebes in which, according to the story, Corinna defeated Pindar, would be but one of many festivals of the kind.

Among the musical arts, flute-playing was, at Thebes especially, carried to a high degree of perfection, and men like Pronomus, Orthagoras, and Antigenidas were famous throughout Greece. But in the arts generally Boeotia holds a higher place than has usually been assigned to her. In painting the most notable names are those of Nicomachus and Aristeides. The fame of these painters may be inferred from the fact that the subjects of so many of their pictures are still known to us. In sculpture, we should like to claim Myron (and the *Discobolus*) for Boeotia, did his birth at the border-town of Eleutherae furnish sufficient ground for doing so.

Whatever may be the truth with regard to Myron, the excavations at the temple of Apollo Ptoios, and those at Tanagra, tell an unmistakable tale of artistic tastes and tendencies. The former point to the existence of a Boeotian school of sculpture in early times; the latter have proved the presence of a taste for a form of art which appealed to popular sympathies by allowing a delicate fancy to play freely upon the familiar events of everyday life.

When the defective sources of our information are considered, the existence of so many signs of a widespread culture in Boeotia may well excite surprise. They would be remarkable anywhere but in Greece; and in Greece itself they are remarkable if we leave Attica out of the reckoning. It must not be forgotten that, in size, Boeotia (like Attica) was no larger than an average English county¹.

And yet there would have been still more culture with its attendant advantages, had it not been for such causes as the internal dissensions of the Boeotians. Boeotia is, as has just been said, not larger than an average English county; and it may be added that the distance between Thebes and the town of Plataea which, it will be recollected, seceded to Athens, was not more than eight or nine miles. The geographical details given in the second chapter will have shown how this little district was thickly covered with city-states, which desired to be as completely independent of the principal town Thebes, and of all other towns, as one modern state is of another. In their passion for absolute autonomy (to use a word of their own invention), the Greek city-states remind us of certain lower forms of animal life which multiply by division and propagate themselves by an eternal process of bisection. As a natural consequence, union between different states for the common good was hard to secure. Greek politics resembled, if we may introduce a fresh comparison, Greek games: individual was pitted against individual rather than side against side.

These divisions, within and without the cities, made themselves felt, for evil, to an even greater extent in Boeotia than in the rest of Greece. They led to discreditable conduct in the Persian Wars,

¹ The area of Boeotia is stated to be 1119 square miles; that of Essex, the tenth in size of the English counties, is 1648 square miles.

and they afforded a constant opening to the ambitious designs of Athens at, and beyond, the Boeotian frontier. The evidence of coins and inscriptions shows how fickle was the allegiance of the members of the League, and how enduring was the antagonism between Thebes and other Boeotian towns, Orchomenus and Plataea especially. The extent to which civic individualism must have at one time prevailed may be gathered from the fact that mere villages, like Aulis, Delium, Mycalessus, and Chaeroneia, occupied in the times within our knowledge a position which seems to have implied original independence.

With these divisions and subdivisions, these feuds and jealousies, existing within a narrow area itself surrounded by hostile neighbour-states, it was impossible to achieve any worthy end. All the energy of the country went in contention, and popular culture was gravely hindered. Union was the first condition of improvement, as Epaminondas saw and as the example of Attica made plain.

Epaminondas had himself received a wide and liberal training in his youth. Like Simmias and Cebes, and like Proxenus, he had come into contact with teachers of other districts than his own. Not only was he, when a boy, instructed in the usual elements of a Greek education, but as he grew to manhood he enjoyed the companionship and guidance of the Pythagorean philosopher Lysis, who resided under his father's roof. The Pythagoreans regarded culture as an aid to the development of character. Philosophy, as they understood it, was a discipline which gave men power over themselves and others.

Epaminondas is a striking illustration of the influence of training and ideas amidst unpromising surroundings. Setting in his own person the example of self-denial, he found followers among a race prone to self-indulgence. In a short time he was able to effect wonders in the way of liberalising, ennobling, and uniting Boeotia. The rule of philosophers delivered Boeotia from Spartan tyranny, and carried her from a state of semi-servitude to a height of prosperity and a brilliant headship which she never knew before or after.

Epaminondas grappled with the difficulties and dissensions which confronted him in the spirit of a large-minded nationalist,

one whose aims promise union rather than severance, the breaking down of old barriers rather than the erection of new ones. His purpose was to unify Boeotia with her warring towns and mixed races, and to make her a worthy leader of the Greek peoples and a power in the world. Aristotle's reflexion about the 'ability of the Greek race, if united in one polity, to rule the world,' often comes to mind; and we feel that some such idea may have been in the mind of Epaminondas, though he had to leave its realisation, in a different form, to Alexander the Great, who extended the dominion of the Greek spirit over the then known world¹.

With this desire for union, and for the repression of party-spirit and narrow local interests, it is natural in our day to feel special sympathy; and perhaps one of the missions of the smaller nations, if they but knew it, is to foster that international amity which the distant future will surely see. Boeotia has contributed much towards this end, although in part involuntarily. As a country she provides us with a lasting warning, but in her great men with an imposing example. Epaminondas has just been mentioned. Pindar was as Panhellenic as Epaminondas. Proud as he is of Thebes, Pindar feels that he is a citizen of the whole of Greece, almost every quarter of which he seems, as we have seen, to have visited. He does not write in the Boeotian dialect (any more than Erasmus wrote in the language of Holland), but in a form of Greek which will reach a wider circle. He is animated by the love of noble beauty and the hatred of envy. For his art he lives, and local feuds and factions drag not down his spirit. And lastly there is Plutarch, whose large-hearted sympathies embrace alike the family, his native town, Boeotia, Greece, the Roman world, and mankind at large. It has been somewhat the fashion, on the part of German writers, to ridicule Plutarch's local patriotism². It is easy to point out that he was parted from the age of Epaminondas by an even wider interval than that which divides an Englishman of to-day from the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

¹ Aristot., *Politics*, vii. vi. (vii.): τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος ὥσπερ μεσεύει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους, οὕτως ἀμφοῖν μετέχει· καὶ γὰρ ἐνθυμον καὶ διανοητικὸν ἐστὶν· διὸ περ ἐλευθέρων τε διατελεῖ καὶ βέλτιστα πολιτευόμενον καὶ δυνάμενον ἄρχειν πάντων, μᾶς τυγχάνον πολιτείας.

² Niebuhr is a special offender in this respect. See Hanske, *Plutarch als Böoter*, ad init.

But it is easy also to admire the man who can value at their true worth local traditions and individual characteristics while taking his part gladly in the larger world in which his own lot is cast. In this volume less hesitation has been felt in treating Plutarch, notwithstanding his late date, as an example of the men Boeotia could breed, because it appears to the writer that Plutarch's *Boeotian patriotism*, ridiculous though it may seem to some critics, was a very real force in the formation of his character, and is, in part, the secret of his subsequent great influence with the world at large. 'That man's the best cosmopolite Who loves his native country best.' The cosmopolitan virtues are for most, if not for all men, best based upon the domestic and civic virtues.

When we contrast the attitude of many Attic writers towards Boeotia, it is pleasant to observe the frank admiration of Pindar and Plutarch for Attica. In the case of the latter there is no valid reason for supposing, as some have done, that his affection for Boeotia and Chaeroneia made him unfair to Athens. Not to speak of the lapse of centuries and the growth of a world-empire, Plutarch had too large a heart and too good a head to have ever found Athens less than glorious. His admiration is seen everywhere, but best of all perhaps in his description of the imperishable youth and beauty which clad the Periclean works of art at Athens. "For this cause therefore the works Pericles made are more wonderfull, because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued so long a season. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very ancient touching the beauty thereof; and yet for the grace and continuance of the same it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certain kind of flourishing freshness in it, which letteth that the injury of time cannot impair the sight thereof. As if every of those foresaid works had some living spirit in it, to make it seem young and fresh, and a soul that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state." (Plutarch, *Pericles*, c. xii. Sir Thomas North's Translation.)

To show no grudging spirit towards Athens would be more difficult for Pindar than for Plutarch. He lived many centuries earlier, and he was a loyal Theban, proud of his ancient ancestry,

and profoundly influenced by the legends and the religious beliefs of his own land. But no jealousy of Athens and the glory she had won in the Persian Wars kept Pindar mute. He addressed her in lines which were treasured as a national heirloom. If he has inflicted an injury at all, it is upon his own country rather than upon Attica. Though his aim was to vindicate Boeotia, he has probably done her a disservice, in that he has helped to immortalise the scurrilous proverb *Βοιωτία ὄς*, which he wished to confute. Perhaps it is a needless task to assume the part of the melancholy Jaques and 'moralise this spectacle,' but the trite and inevitable moral, if one be required, is that Pindar acted unwisely in publishing a slander even for the purpose of protesting against it. If left to itself, the slander might have passed into oblivion long ago. As it is, we find that it passed, instead, into the currency of the world's judgments, whose mingled shallowness and confidence it fully shares, since it rests almost entirely on the unchallenged verdict of the lords of literature, those Attic neighbours, who chose to look down upon the Boeotians as bucolic and illiterate, and expressed their disdain in bucolic metaphor.

Having thus come back to the Pindaric starting-point of this discussion, we may sum up the conclusions reached, as follows.

1. The Attic verdict, the source of the literary tradition adverse to the Boeotians, is a highly prejudiced and exaggerated one.
2. The direct judgments of historians and geographers either refer to a late period, or are (when compared with the Attic verdict) mild and discriminating.
3. A consideration of the political history of Boeotia does not, if due regard is paid to the public morality of the age, suggest an unqualified condemnation of the national character even in the darkest period.
4. In the time of Epaminondas the national character proved equal to a great struggle for freedom and power.
5. A review of literature and the arts in Boeotia shows great individual names and many signs of a diffused culture.
6. Epaminondas is a unique example of the happy union of character and culture; Proxenus, and Simmias and Cebes, show that the two were also found attractively combined in lesser men.
7. The breadth of mind, the extended patriotism, and the wide influence of the great men of Boeotia are as remarkable as are the divisions and dissensions which ruled

within that little area. 8. The parallel case of Holland illustrates the prevalent tendency to undervalue the stolid races.

Stolid the Boeotians no doubt were, and self-indulgent. So much should be admitted. Ephorus is our authority for saying that military prowess and physical strength were apt to be pursued by them to the neglect of culture. The short duration of Boeotian greatness, though other reasons contributed to its brevity, seems to point in the same direction. And yet a large body of evidence in favour of modifying the traditional reputation of the Boeotians in the matter of character and culture, can, as has been seen, be found, notwithstanding the undoubted ill-fortune of their country in respect of historians, and of Attic prejudice and Attic contrast. Under such untoward conditions, we can well believe that steadiness and stolidity might come to be regarded as stupidity (*ἀναισθησία*); a proud and warlike spirit, as insolence (*ὑβρις*); simplicity in a good sense, as simplicity in a bad sense (the two kinds of *εὐθelia*); self-indulgence as swinishness (*Βοιωτία ὕς*). But such exaggerations provide, when once examined, their own refutation, as in the instance before us. Whatever else they may have been, there is no ground for believing that the Boeotians as a people were 'swine,' sunk in utter grossness and stupidity. Any sweeping judgment, good or bad, is unwise in the case of an individual; it is still more unwise in the case of a people; it is most of all unwise in the case of a people so divided among themselves as the Boeotians. It was in the Persian Wars that the worst public blot fell upon the Boeotian name; but even in the Persian Wars, Plataea and Thespieae fought, it will be remembered, for the liberties of Greece.

A few final words may be added as to this self-indulgent race and its great leader. The self-indulgence has been admitted. The Boeotians were, it may be, tempted to enjoy, rather than to exert, themselves by two things chiefly, the heaviness of their atmosphere and the fertility of their land, as contrasted with the physical conditions under which their neighbours lived:

Where on the Ægean shore a city stands
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil¹.

¹ Dryden's estimate of the effect of climate upon the Boeotians may be remembered. "He (Plutarch) was born in Chaeronea, a small city of Boeotia, in Greece,

Their favourite enjoyments were, it would seem, those of the table. Just as the dissipation of the Athenians of the decline would be to 'spend their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing,' so the dissipation of the Boeotians of the decline would be to 'have at their call more dinners in a month than there are days in the month.' This probably represents the natural tendency of both peoples, extravagant though the idea of the Boeotians as the over-taxed diners-out of antiquity may at first sight appear. But this very sensuousness (*sensuality* it would be hard to call it) has its strong points when properly controlled and directed; as such it has an attraction of its own, as we see in Epaminondas with his spare diet and his strong human affections and refined pleasures, and as we see too in the parallel case of Erasmus, who with his genial love of Greek wine and English friends combined the simplest habits of life. It must not be forgotten that the Boeotians generally, if they were valiant trenchermen, were valiant swordsmen also. It must not be forgotten that if *l'homme sensuel moyen* did more abound in Boeotia than in Attica, yet the sensual world of Boeotia had its crowded hour of glorious life in the age of Epaminondas. Epaminondas himself is said to have exclaimed with respect to a man who, about the time of the battle of Leuctra, 'died of sickness in his bed' (as Doctor Philemon Holland professionally phrases it), "O Hercules, how had this man any leisure to dye amidst so many important affaires¹!"

The truth is that the Boeotians, if looked at neither with the contempt of superior neighbours nor with a misplaced admiration due to a feeling of revulsion against so much undue depreciation, have many sterling claims upon our regard. There is a stability,

between Attica and Phocis, and reaching to both seas. The climate not much befriended by the heavens, for the air is thick and foggy; and consequently the inhabitants partaking of its influence, gross feeders and fat-witted, brawny and unthinking,—just the constitution of heroes, cut out for the executive and brutal business of war; but so stupid in the designing part, that in all the revolutions of Greece they were never masters, but only in those few years when they were led by Epaminondas, or Pelopidas." (John Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*: Sir Walter Scott's edition of Dryden's Works, xvii. 19.)

¹ Plut., *De Sanitate Praecepta*, xxiii: *ὅπερ γὰρ φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μετὰ παιδιᾶς, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ περὶ τὰ Λευκτρικὰ νόσφ' τελευτήσαντος, ὃν Ἡράκλεις, πῶς ἐσχόλασεν ἀπὸ τοσούτοις πράγμασιν;*

a solidity, a simplicity and naturalness, a reality and depth, about them which make them an agreeable contrast to the excitable and somewhat artificial Athenians, and assuredly not less welcome in the general scheme of things. They had a large reserve of force, and though not readily fired, they had an ample store of that latent ardour which only needs the kindling touch of a great man.

The greatest of their great men was Epaminondas. And though it would be folly to judge a race solely by its most distinguished representatives, it would be equal folly to frame any estimate which took no account of them. In the eyes of all but 'Attic neighbours,' Great Britain includes Shakespeare as well as the most illiterate British peasant that ever found three hundred words a superabundant vocabulary for the expression of his ideas.

Some reader, hard to convince, may chance to think that this volume is, in design, a *Laus Boeotiae*, and that *Laus Boeotiae*, in spite of all that can be said, means nothing more nor less than *Laus Stultitiae*. But if such are the phrases which present themselves to his mind, he may be expected also to remember that the author of the *Encomium Moriae*, blending jest and earnest in delightful irony, intended the title he had chosen to suggest the name of his friend Sir Thomas More, whom he loved and honoured as a paragon among men. To the thoughts of even so sceptical a reader as the one here assumed it is to be hoped that *Laus Boeotiae*, whatever else it may suggest, will suggest *Laus Epaminondae*.

APPENDIX.

A. Dates in the Political History of Boeotia.

- B.C.
- [1124] Immigration of the Boeotians. [Traditional date, 60 years after the Trojan War : cp. p. 42 supra.]
- [728] Philolaus of Corinth legislates at Thebes.
[From the earliest historical times we find Thebes (1) the leading member of a League of Boeotian towns, (2) under oligarchical government.]
- 519 Secession of the Plataeans.
[Grote places this event ten years later.]
- 491 Darius sends heralds to Greece to demand earth and water.
- 490 Battle of Marathon.
- 480 Battle of Thermopylae.
- 479 Battle of Plataea.
[Position of Theban, and other oligarchies in Boeotia, gravely shaken as a result of the Persian Wars.]
- 457 Battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta.
[Theban authority temporarily restored by the battle of Tanagra ; but Athenian influence, and through it democracy and local independence, strong in Boeotia from the battle of Oenophyta (nine weeks after Tanagra) to 447 B.C.]
- 447 Battle of Coroneia (first battle of that name).
[Restoration of oligarchies throughout Boeotia, and strengthening of the Confederation. Spartan influence contributes to this result.]
- 431 Plataea attacked by the Thebans.
Beginning of the Peloponnesian War.
- 429-427 Plataea besieged by the Peloponnesians.
- 424 Battle of Delium. Athenians defeated.
- 423 The Thebans raze the walls of Thespieae to the ground.

B.C.

- 422 Panactum seized by the Boeotians.
- 418 Epaminondas born about this time.
- 414 Democratic rising at Thespieae suppressed by the Thebans.
- 413 The Boeotians send help to the Syracusans. The Plataeans fight on the Athenian side.
Massacre of women and children at Mycalessus by Thracian mercenaries.
- 411 Oropus seized by the Boeotians.
- 404 Lysander captures Athens. End of the Peloponnesian War.
Bitter attitude of Thebes.
[In the period which follows, the democratic party under Ismenias comes to the front at Thebes, and there is increased intercourse with Athens.]
- 402 The Boeotians expel the inhabitants of Oropus.
- 395 Secession of Orchomenus.
- 394 Battle of Coroneia (second battle of that name).
- 387 Peace 'of' Antalcidas.
Dissolution of the Boeotian League.
- 386 Plataea restored by Sparta. [It had been destroyed in 427.]
- 382 Phoebidas seizes the Cadmeia. Lacedaemonian harmosts in Boeotian towns.
- 379 Liberation of Thebes. Boeotian League re-established.
[Democracy now takes the place of oligarchy at Thebes and elsewhere.]
- 377 Rising at Thespieae put down.
- 374 Battle of Tegyra.
[At dates, which it is not easy to give exactly, but between 373 and 363 B.C., the following Boeotian towns were destroyed by Thebes: Plataea, Thespieae, Orchomenus, Coroneia.]
- 371 Epaminondas at Sparta claims to represent the Boeotian League.
Battle of Leuctra.
Threatening attitude of Jason of Pherae. (The Thessalians had previously given the Boeotians cause for alarm.)
- 370 Epaminondas and Pelopidas in the Peloponnese.
Foundation of Megalopolis.
- 369 Restoration of Messene. Epaminondas again in the Peloponnese.

- B. C.
- 369, 8 Expedition of Pelopidas to Thessaly.
- 368 Pelopidas seized by Alexander of Pherae.
Pelopidas rescued by Epaminondas.
- 367 Pelopidas at Susa.
Epaminondas in Achaia. [His Third Expedition into the Peloponnese.]
- 366 Oropus seized by partisans of Thebes.
War between Elis and Arcadia.
- 364 Naval expedition of Epaminondas as far as Byzantium.
Pelopidas falls at Cynoscephalae.
- 362 Fourth Expedition of Epaminondas into the Peloponnese.
Battle of Mantinea.
Death of Epaminondas. Peace made.
- 358 Euboic War: between the Thebans and the Athenians.
- 357 Sacred War: against the Phocians.
- 346 The men of Orchomenus driven from Boeotia.
- 338 Alliance between Athens and Thebes brought about by Demosthenes.
Battle of Chaeroneia.
Macedonian garrison in the Cadmeia.
The inhabitants of Orchomenus, Thespieae, and Plataea, return to Boeotia. Oropus is handed over to the Athenians by Philip.
- 335 Destruction of Thebes by Alexander at the instigation of Orchomenus, Thespieae, and Plataea. [The house once occupied by Pindar was spared: 'the great Emathian conqueror,' etc.]
- 315 Thebes restored by Cassander.
- 312 Oropus again in the hands of the Boeotians.
- 303 Demetrius Poliorcetes expels the garrison of Cassander.
- 278 Expedition of the Gauls into Greece.
- 244 The Boeotians in alliance with the Macedonians.
- 171 Dissolution of the League by Quintus Marcius Philippus.
(See extract from Polybius on p. 26 supra.—The finality of this dissolution is the subject of some dispute. For one view, see Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, p. 144; for another, Hermes viii. 434 n. 2.)
- 146, 5 Capture of Corinth. Thebes destroyed. Greece a Roman Province.

Of course it will be understood that (1) many of the dates given above are approximate, and that (2) the list very inadequately represents the chequered and stormy career of Boeotia.

We can see, however, that Thebes steadily claimed the headship under very various conditions. As far as the facts can be unravelled, it would seem that the oligarchical party, in Thebes and in Boeotia generally, upheld the League. In so doing it had the support of Sparta, which (perhaps out of hostility to Athens) forsook its more natural policy of encouraging isolation. On the other hand, the Athenians promoted democracies and dissension. In the course of the Peloponnesian War, for instance, we find them in communication with the democratical party in various cities. This policy on the part of Athens excited the special animosity of Thebes.

After the close of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta assumed an oppressive attitude, and democracy (and Athenian friendship) took the place of oligarchy (and Spartan friendship) at Thebes, but the policy of Theban headship was now felt to be as vital as it had ever been under oligarchical rule. In judging the conduct of Thebes at this time towards the seceding towns, it should be remembered that the successive revolts were probably brought about by oligarchical factions, traitors to their past and preferring the dismemberment of Boeotia to acquiescence in democracy.

The period of disintegration (B.C. 387–379) has been well described by Dr B. V. Head: "With the proclamation of the Peace of Antalcidas, in B.C. 387, the entire political *status* of Boeotia, and indeed of Greece generally, was changed. The Boeotian League was now dissolved, and oligarchies under Spartan patronage were established in the various Boeotian cities. The completeness of this constitutional revolution was due to the fact that there was, and always had been, a strong Separatist Party favourable to the absolute independent autonomy of the individual communities. The Separatists were, however, not the majority of the population, and they were generally obliged to place reliance upon the physical force supplied by the Spartans, who with their harmosts and garrisons held every strong fortress in the land. Even the Cadmeia at Thebes fell into the hands of the Spartans in B.C. 382. Sparta was now supreme, and for some years her will was law in every Boeotian town; but with the recovery of the Theban citadel by Pelopidas and his associates in 379–8, a reaction commenced, which after a time led to the complete restoration of the ancient Confederacy under the hegemony of Thebes."

For the difficult question of the *constitution* of the Boeotian League, reference may be made to Freeman, *Federal Government*, pp. 125 ff., and to Busolt, *Griech. Alt.*, pp. 342 ff. The League no doubt had its germ in a religious assembly, the Pamboeotia. Its most important magistrates were the Boeotarchs; its most important administrative bodies, the 'Four Senates of the Boeotians' (Thucyd. v. 38).

B. *Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

The sources from which our knowledge as to Boeotian history is derived are indicated, to some extent, in the text of this treatise, and in the references given in the notes. But a fuller list, with a few comments, may here be given.

Herodotus and Thucydides supply valuable, but somewhat incidental, information as to the periods represented by the Persian Wars, the *Pentecontaety*, and the Peloponnesian War. Xenophon's evidence, which covers the Spartan and Theban Supremacies, has been characterised already; and it has, also, been pointed out that the strictures of Polybius refer to a comparatively late period. Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch are still later writers than Polybius, but they are important authorities owing to the breadth of ground they cover and their use, if not their reproduction, of earlier narratives. Diodorus seems to have drawn largely on Ephorus; Plutarch, on Ephorus and on some Boeotian authors or records. Then there are Pausanias (chiefly, but by no means entirely, in the *Βοιωτικά*), Cornelius Nepos, and Justin; and occasional help is to be derived from the Greek orators, philosophers, and poets, as well as from fragments of lost historians and geographers. The excavators of remains and the classifiers of coins have done much service; and so have the editors of inscriptions, pioneer and premier among whom stands August Boeckh. In his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, i. pp. 717-803 (1828 A.D.), Boeckh laid down the highway along which many others since have followed him.

As to Plutarch's lost *Epaminondas*, it is worth mentioning that P. L. Courier (*Collection complète des pamphlets politiques et opuscules littéraires*, p. 81: Bruxelles, 1826) declares that he saw the work (among a number of precious manuscripts) in a Florentine Library

about the year 1808. Writing to M. Renouard he says: "Nous y remarquâmes surtout ce Plutarque, dont je vous ai si souvent parlé. Ce que nous en pûmes lire me parut appartenir à la vie d'Épaminondas, qui manque dans les imprimés. Quelques mois après ce livre disparut." This is tantalising; but it may possibly have been the case, after all, that Courier, whose inspection was a hurried one, really saw only the *Apophthegmata Epaminondas* which are still extant (*Apophth. Reg. et Imperat.*), or perhaps the *Life of Pelopidas*. It is a hard fate which has caused the *Lives* of three great Boeotians, Epaminondas, Pindar and Hesiod, to be lost from their compatriot's works.

Among the modern historians of Greece reference may be made to Thirlwall, Grote, Ernst Curtius, Duncker, Busolt, Holm; to Sievers (*Geschichte Griechenlands vom Ende des peloponnesischen Krieges bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea*), and Von Stern (*Geschichte der spartanischen und thebanischen Hegemonie vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea*: referred to by Holm); and to Von Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* (vol. 1.). To the present writer it seems that the influence of Attic prejudice, or Attic contrast, is often to be traced in these historians, but that Ernst Curtius, and especially Holm (see particularly his *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 86, 87) have endeavoured to take a fairer view¹. And here it may be mentioned that brief but valuable remarks as to Boeotian reputation will be found in B. L. Gildersleeve's *Essays and Studies*, p. 51, in J. P. Mahaffy's *History of Classical Greek Literature*, vol. 1. p. 97, in R. S. Poole's *Introduction* (p. xiv) to Diehl's *Excursions in Greece* (translated by Emma R. Perkins, London, 1893), and in Ernest Myers' *Introduction* to his *Odes of Pindar*. [It is, however, unfortunately not open to us to claim Pausanias, as Mr Myers would, as a Boeotian.] But the subject, as a whole, has not, so far as the writer's knowledge extends, hitherto been dealt with, either in England or abroad. The article on Boeotia in the old edition of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, though written by so high an authority as Dr Conrad Bursian, shows, in its estimate of the Boeotians, too much readiness to accept the traditional view, and to overlook or explain away considerations which suggest its modification. The article will no doubt be revised, and brought up to date, in the new edition now appearing.

Among Histories of Greek Literature special reference may be made to the works of Theodor Bergk and MM. A. and M. Croiset.

¹ Vol. 1. of the English Translation of Holm's *History of Greece* (Macmillan) has just been issued.

The following books will also be found of use from various points of view : Busolt, *Der boeotische Bund* [Iwan Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*—iv. 1, *Griechische Altertümer*—pp. 335–347 of second edition, 1892]. Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy*: edited by J. B. Bury, 1892. [The point raised by Mr Freeman, pp. 125 and 137 (see also p. 640), as to the use of *Βοιωτοί* and *Θηβαῖοι* in the Greek historians and orators would repay working out at length, with due attention to any parallel cases, in a separate dissertation by a young scholar. Cause may possibly be found for suspecting that the Attic writers (particularly Xenophon and Aeschines) use the title *Βοιωτοί* with a somewhat grudging hand.—In his treatment of the general question, Mr Freeman regards Thebes as exemplifying the dangers attending the presence of a preponderant capital in a federation, and Plataea as furnishing the first recorded instance of secession from a political union of this nature.] Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* [*Boeoticum Foedus*]. G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer*, ii. 45–63. Wilhelm Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 341 ff. Karl Otfried Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer* (Second edition, corrected and enlarged, by F. W. Schneidewin. Breslau, 1844). [K. O. Müller also wrote the article *Böotien* in Ersch u. Gr.'s *Encycl.*; it has been printed separately.]—For *Coins*, see (in addition to the references already given) Barclay V. Head, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Central Greece* (pp. xxxvi–xlv and 32–93: with autotype plates: 1884), and *Historia Numorum* (pp. 291–300: 1887); F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (articles reprinted from the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'); P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, 1883.—For *Art* see, besides Brunn and Furtwaengler, the following works: C. Sittl, *Klassische Kunstarchäologie* (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alt.*); O. Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art Antique*. Paris, 1880, fol. [British Museum Press-Mark: 1706, c. 9]; R. Kekulé, *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*. Stuttgart, 1878, fol. [Brit. Mus. Press-Mark: 562 f.] Some specimens of the Art of Tanagra will be found in cases 16–22 of the terra-cotta room at the British Museum; but a greater number are to be seen in the Louvre and at St Petersburg.

Special Literature. The following list of dissertations is not an exhaustive one; it consists only of those which have been collected by the writer. It is especially incomplete on the side of geography and topography. This aspect of the subject (for which see C. Bursian's

Geographie von Griechenland, vol. I. pp. 194–251, and A. W. Verrall's article *Thebes* in *Encycl. Brit.* vol. xxiii. pp. 229, 230) cannot satisfactorily be discussed by one who has not visited the localities, and has not (it may be added) had the opportunity of ascertaining for himself how far it is true that the Boeotian peasant of to-day is "distinguished from the rest of his countrymen by his heaviness of temperament and his incivility" (H. F. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo*, Oxford, 1893. P. 232). It will be noticed that many of the dissertations are the work of Dutchmen, none of whom, however, have developed the analogy between Boeotia and Holland, though all may have been led to their choice of subject by a sort of latent and undefined sympathy, and by the special interest which early attempts at federation must possess for a people who themselves furnish one of the four great examples of federal constitutions. As many of the dissertations are mentioned (under short titles) in the course of the notes, they are here arranged, for convenience of reference, in the alphabetical order of their authors' names. E. Bauch, *Epaminondas und Thebens Kampf um die Hegemonie* (Breslau, 1834). A. Boeckh, *Philolaus des Pythagoreers Lehren* (Berlin, 1819). I. W. ten Breujel, *Specimen Literarium Inaugurale de Foedere Boeotico* (Groningae, 1834). C. Bursian, *Mittheilungen zur Topographie von Boiotien und Euböia* (1859). P. Decharme, *De Thebanis Artificibus* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1869). H. Deiter, *De Epaminonda Xenophonte et Diodoreo* (Emden, 1874). M. Dinse, *De Antigenida Thebano Musico* (Berolini, 1856). I. C. Drabbe, *Dissertatio Literaria Inauguralis de Oropo* (Lugd.-Bat., 1846). R. Dressler, *Das Geschichtswerk des Ephoros nach seinen Fragmenten und seiner Benutzung durch Diodor* (Bautzen, 1873). E. Fabricius, *Theben: eine Untersuchung über die Topographie und Geschichte der Hauptstadt Boeotiens* (Freiburg, 1890). P. W. Forchhammer, *Topographia Thebarum Heptapylarum* (Kiliae, 1854). O. Frick, *Das platäische Weihgeschenk zu Konstantinopel: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Perserkriege* (Leipzig, 1859). [For this votive-offering, the bronze serpent inscribed with the names of the Greek cities allied against Xerxes, see Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. 822; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. 210; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. 81; Wilhelm Vischer, *Kl. Schr.* ii. 294–301.] O. Friedrich, *Rerum Plataicarum Specimen* (Berolini, 1841). E. Funk, *De Thebanorum ab an. 378 usque ad an. 362 actis* (Berlin, 1890). Émile Gebhart, *Essai sur la Peinture de Genre dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1868). Dr Hanske, *Plutarch als Böoter* (Wurzen, 1884). B. Hausoullier, *Quomodo sepulcra Tanagraei decoraverint* (Parisiis, 1884).

A. Hauvette, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Grèce, Marathon, Salamine, Platées* (Paris, 1892). J. Hüber, *Epaminondas: Versuch einer Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens* (Rastenburg, 1874 and 1875). Eduard John, *Plutarch und Shakspeare* (Wertheim a. M., 1889 and 1890). W. A. Klütz, *De Foedere Boeotico* (Berolini, 1821). [W. A.] Klütz, *Epaminondas und Pelopidas: eine Parallele* (Cöslin, 1834). P. A. Koppius, *Specimen Historicum exhibens Historiam Reipublicae Boeotorum* (Groningae, 1836). G. Lahmeyer, *De Libelli Plutarchei, qui De Malignitate Herodoti inscribitur, et Auctoritate et Auctore* (Gottingae, 1847). M. Lehnerdt, *De locis Plutarchi ad Artem spectantibus* (Regimonti, 1883). P. Liman, *Foederis Boeotici Instituta* (Gryphiswaldiae, 1882). H. Lolling, *Archaische Inschriften in Boeotien* (Berlin, 1885). H. J. Matthes, *Disputatio Literaria de Epaminonda* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1830). Moritz Müller, *Geschichte Thebens von der Einwanderung der Boioter bis zur Schlacht bei Koroneia* (Leipzig, 1879). F. Münscher, *De rebus Plataeensium* (Hanoviae, 1841). G. Pagida, *Tà τῆς τοπογραφίας τῶν ἐπταπύλων Θηβῶν ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀρχαιολόγων διαρυνόμενα* [Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1882]. J. Pohler, *Diodorus als Quelle zur Geschichte von Hellas in der zeit von Thebens Aufschwung und Grösse* (Cassel, 1885). L. Pomtow, *Das Leben des Epaminondas, sein Charakter und seine Politik* (Berlin, 1870). E. Preuss, *Quaestiones Boeoticae* (Leipzig, 1879). G. Queck, *De Fontibus Plutarchi in Vita Pelopidae* (Dramburgi, 1876). H. Reinhold, *Griechische Oertlichkeiten bei Pindaros* (Quedlinburg, 1894). R. Schillbach, *De Thespiarum oppidi situ ac finibus* (Neu-Ruppin, 1856). A. Scholderer, *Tanagraearum Antiquitatum Specimen* (Berolini, 1855). A. Seibt, *Beurteilung der Politik, welche die Athener während des thebanisch-spartanischen Krieges befolgt haben* (Cassel, 1885). R. A. Unger, *Libri Primi Thebanarum Rerum Specimen* (Halae, 1835). O. Westewick, *De Plutarchi Studiis Heriodeis* (Monasterii Guestf., 1893). H. Wiegand, *Platäa zur Zeit des Einfalls der Perser in Bötien* (Ratzeburg, 1886). H. Wiegand, *Die Platäer in Athen* (Ratzeburg, 1888).

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